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Educational opportunities for Negroes in the Boston public schools were examined. Racial concentrations in Boston's schools vary widely according to the grade level of the pupil. The vast majority of public school pupils attended schools that were more than 90 percent white in enrollment.

One policy of the Boston School Committee regarding integration included the building of new schools; sites were selected to avoid racially unbalanced schools. Another was Open Enrollment.

A comparison of predominantly white, nonwhite, and integrated schools showed that the predominantly Negro schools were not more overcrowed than the predominantly white schools. Yet the predominantly Negro schools were at a disadvantage because of the high proportion of pupils who should be attending special classes. Tests given to children in Boston schools showed that the margin by which children in predominantly white districts score ahead of children in predominantly Negro districts grew larger with age, both as to intelligence ratios and reading achievement.

Some of the compensatory programs utilized included Operation Counterpoise, a preventive program designed to catch undesirable situations in their beginning stages, to improve children's attitudes toward school, and to inspire standards of excellence which should be carried over into the secondary school. Other programs included teacher t training in human relations, and private tutoring programs.

Recommendations of the School Committee included having the appropriate officials of the Federal Government realize that racial discrimination in public housing contributes to segregation in Boston public schools.

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REPORT ON RACIAL IMBALANCE IN THE BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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BY THE
MASSACHUSETTS STATE ADVISORY
COMMITTEE TO THE
UNITED STATES COMMISSION
ON CIVIL RIGHTS

JANUARY 1965

REPORT ON
RACIAL IMBALANCE
IN THE
BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By the

Massachusetts State Advisory Committee

to the

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

JANUARY 1965

Bennett O. Stalvey

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The Massachusetts State Advisory Committee is deeply indebted to the thirty-six witnesses who testified at the open meeting on March 20 and March 21, 1964, and particularly to Dr. Charles A. Pinderhughes, Chief of Psychiatric Service at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Boston, and the other expert witnesses; to Paul Parks, chairman of the subcommittee on racial imbalance in public education, for organizing the Open Meeting; to Joan Fenn who performed much of the indispensable detail work.

Preface

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is an independent agency of the Federal Government created by the Civil Rights Act of 1957. By the terms of that Act, as amended by the Civil Rights Acts of 1960 and 1964, the Commission is charged with the following duties: investigation of individual denials of the right to vote; study of legal developments with respect to denials of the equal protection of the law; appraisal of the laws and policies of the United States with respect to the equal protection of the law; maintenance of a national clearinghouse for information respecting denials of the equal protection of the law; and investigation of patterns or practices of fraud or discrimination in the conduct of Federal elections. The Commission is also required to submit reports to the President and to the Congress at such times as the Commission, the Congress, or the President shall deem desirable.

THE STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES

An Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has been established in each of the 50 States and the District of Columbia pursuant to section 105(c) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. The memberships of these Committees are made up of responsible persons who serve without compensation. The functions of the Committees under their mandate from the Commission are to: advise the Commission of all information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; advise the Commission as to the effect of the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; advise the Commission upon matters of mutual concern in the preparation of reports of the Commission to the President and the Congress; and initiate and forward advice and recommendations to the Commission upon matters which the State Committee has studied.

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Introduction

The present study of racial imbalance in Boston public schools is in part the outgrowth of an earlier study of housing. In March 1963, the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee held an Open Meeting on discrimination in housing in Boston and surrounding areas.[1] Since educational qualifications are a prerequisite to employment above the level of unskilled labor, and a good job that pays well is a necessary condition to obtaining desirable housing, it seemed logical to examine educational opportunities for Negroes in the Boston public schools.

In Boston, as in other urban areas, public school children ordinarily attend schools in the neighborhoods in which they live, particularly in the elementary grades. A consequence of this fact, which has produced controversy in Boston, as in other urban areas, is that a great many Negro children attend schools with a predominantly Negro enrollment.

The Advisory Committee decided to investigate the elements of this controversy by:

1. obtaining public school enrollment figures for white and Negro children;

2. seeking from the Boston School Committee and the Superintendent's office information relating to educational opportunities and racial imbalance;

3. hearing expert opinions as to the effects on children of attendance at predominantly Negro schools;

4. hearing parents and children relate experiences at predominantly Negro schools;

5. comparing data relating to school districts of different racial composition;

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1. Discrimination in Housing in the Boston Metropolitan Area. Report of the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, December 1963.

6. obtaining information concerning compensatory educational programs;

7. hearing opinions as to the power and/or the duty of the school committee to relieve racial imbalance in schools.

The Advisory Committee invited persons known to be informed in these areas to an Open Meeting which was held in the United States Court House in Boston on March 20 and 21, 1964. Thirty-six witnesses appeared before the Committee and three other persons submitted written statements. After the Open Meeting, the Boston School Committee made available the figures disclosed in the racial census taken by the Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education, appointed in March 1964 by the State Board of Education and Commissioner of Education, Owen B. Kiernan.

The appointment of the "Kiernan Committee", as it came to be called, is a measure of the concern of educators in Massachusetts regarding racial imbalance in the public schools. The figures supplied in its racial census provide the first dependable information on the racial composition of public schools in Boston. The interim findings of the Kiernan Committee, mainly based on the field work of educators, are entirely consistent with the findings of this Committee.[2]

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2. The findings of the Kiernan Committee appear in the Interim Report of the Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education, July 1, 1964, pp. 9-12. Its conclusions are set forth in Appendix B.

1. Organization and Racial Composition of Public Schools

Boston public schools are classified as elementary schools, junior high schools, high schools and special schools (for handicapped children). The total enrollment of all schools was 91,800 as of March 26, 1964, composed as follows:[3]

Schools	Number	Grades Included	Total Pupils	White[3]		Negro[3]	
				Number	Percent	Number	Percent
High	16	7-12*	20,244	17,446	86.2	2,798	13.8
Junior High	17	7-9*	13,258	10,362	78.2	2,896	21.8
Elementary	153	K-8*	58,117	42,763	73.6	15,354	26.4
Special	2		181	132	73.0	49	27.0
			91,800	70,703		21,097	

*The overlapping grade levels indicate that the transition to the junior high program adopted some years ago is far from complete.

3. Distribution of white and nonwhite pupils in the Public Schools of Massachusetts. Hereafter, the Kiernan Census. The census uses the term nonwhite, and states that the "vast preponderance" are Negro. This report will use nonwhite and Negro interchangeably, relying upon the 1960 United States Census data that 92.2 percent of the nonwhite population of Boston is Negro. The "Kiernan Census" for Boston is set forth in Appendix E.

There are 16 public high schools, of which 7 are city wide and 9 serve large geographical areas. Five of the latter, the East Boston and South Boston High Schools have no Negro pupils. The Negro percentage in the remaining area-based high schools ranges from 0.81 percent (Roslindale) to 35.28 percent (Jamaica Plain). In the "city wide" schools, Girls High School is 70.47 percent Negro and the Negro percentage in the remaining schools ranges from 5.36 percent (Boys Latin) to 21.49 percent (Trade High for Girls).

The junior high districts are smaller than those of the high schools and contain a number of predominantly Negro schools. A comparison of secondary schools with the highest concentration of Negro pupils follows:

School	Percent Negro
High	
Girls	70.47
English (3 branches)	38.56
Jamaica Plain	35.28
J. E. Burke	28.43
Junior	
Lewis (including annex)	99.46
Patrick T. Campbell	92.87
James P. Timilty	86.95
O. W. Holmes	71.04

At the elementary school level there are greater concentrations of Negro pupils. The 15 elementary schools containing more than 95 percent Negro pupils are:[4]

Hyde	99.1
Everett	98.8
Asa Gray	98.6
Wm. L. P. Boardman	98.5
David A. Ellis	98.4
Phillips Brooks	98.4
Henry L. Higginson	98.1
Ira Allen	98.1
Julia Ward Howe	98.0

4. Kiernan Census, p. A-4.

David A. Ellis annex	97.6
Quincy Dickerman	97.5
Williams	97.5
Garrison	96.8
William Bacon	96.7
Sarah J. B. Baker	95.7

The 153 elementary schools are allocated among 57 districts, each containing 2, 3, 4 or 5 schools. Pupils are assigned to the school nearest their home which has the appropriate grade. Since the degree of imbalance in individual schools is substantially reflected in the school district figures, this report will hereafter refer to elementary school districts.

A graph showing the nonwhite percentage in each of the 57 elementary school districts (Appendix A) indicates 35 districts in the 0-10 percent range (0 to 8.7 percent), 15 districts in the 10-90 percent range (13 to 79.6 percent), and 7 districts in the 90-100 percent range (89.4 to 98.8 percent). These ranges were employed in a recent study[5] of the Chicago public schools, which uses the following definitions:

White school - 90 percent or more white

Integrated school - at least 10 percent white and 10 percent Negro

Negro school - 90 percent or more Negro

Since the 0-10 percent, 10-90 percent, 90-100 percent grouping has a precedent in the Chicago report and represents a logical grouping of the Boston elementary school districts when their nonwhite enrollment percentages were examined, it will be employed in this report. The use of this grouping does not constitute an endorsement by this Committee of schools throughout the 10-90 percent range as integrated schools. The chart on page 6 gives enrollment information for the "White", "Integrated" and "Negro" districts.

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5. Report of the Board of Education, City of Chicago, by the Advisory Panel on the Integration of the Public Schools, March 31, 1964, p. 14.

Enrollment Information for White, Integrated, and Negro Districts

Districts	Number	All Pupils: Percentage of All Districts	All Pupils: Number of Pupils	All Pupils: Percentage of All Elementary Pupils
White	35	61.4	35,057	60.32
Integrated	15	26.3	15,717	27.04
Negro	7	12.3	7,343	12.64
	57	100.0	58,117	100.00

Districts	Number	White Pupils: Percentage of Pupils in Type of Districts	White Pupils: Percentage of All White Pupils
White	34,340	97.95	80.30
Integrated	8,129	51.00	19.00
Negro	294	4.04	.70
	42,763		100.00

Districts	Number	Negro Pupils: Percentage of Pupils in Type of Districts	Negro Pupils: Percentage of All Negro Pupils
White	717	2.05	4.04
Integrated	7,588	49.00	49.30
Negro	7,049	95.96	46.66
	15,354		100.00

In the definitions used here, slightly more than 25 percent of the elementary school districts in Boston can be termed integrated. (This compares favorably with the Chicago study in which only 9 percent of the schools could be classified as integrated). Racial imbalance in the Boston public schools is a problem that, at least in terms of numbers, is capable of practical solution.

The heart of Boston's problem is found in the 7 elementary districts which have an average of 95.96 percent Negro pupils. Forty-six percent of the Negro children in the public elementary schools--nearly one-half--are enrolled in districts where 19 out of 20 pupils are Negroes. In the next chapter, this report will summarize some expert views on the educational consequences of this ethnic environment.

While a number of cities have found that white children are a minority of the population in the elementary schools, this is by no means the case in Boston, where three out of four of the children in elementary schools are white. Sixty percent of the children attend schools in districts whose enrollment is 97.95 percent white. Five schools, containing 6 percent of the total elementary enrollment are all-white and 4 out of 5 white children attend schools that are more than 90 percent white.

While the total nonwhite population of Boston is not large (68,443), in the decade 1950-60 the city experienced a sharp increase in the nonwhite percentage of its population. In 1950 about 1 Boston resident out of 20 was nonwhite; in 1960, the ratio was about 1 to 11. This shift is the product of a substantial decrease in the white population (130,000) and an increase in the nonwhite population (26,000). Thus the main contribution of suburban communities to the problem of racial imbalance is to siphon off white families, often those most concerned with the education of their children. The city tends increasingly to house those families, white and Negro, having the greatest educational needs and the least ability to pay for them in taxes.

SUMMARY

Racial concentrations in Boston's public schools vary widely according to the grade level of the pupil. The four schools having the highest percentages of Negro enrollment range from

29.8 to 70.5 percent - at the high school level
71.0 to 99.0 percent - at the junior high school level, and
98.5 to 99.1 percent - at the elementary school level

The vast majority of public school pupils at all levels attend schools that are more than 90 percent white in enrollment. The size of the Negro population in Boston and the overall enrollment pattern in the public schools offer possibilities for ending racial imbalance that do not exist in some large cities.

2. Effect of Discrimination in Public Housing

In March 1963, the Committee held an Open Meeting on discrimination in housing in the Boston Metropolitan Area. In its report on the Open Meeting, the Committee made the following statment regarding public housing:[6] These patterns of limited diffusion of Negroes in the City of Boston and in the suburbs do not occur only in private housing. As of September 1, 1963, the Boston Housing Authority administered 32 public housing projects consisting of 10,556 units in 21 Federal aided projects and 3,761 units in 11 State aided projects.

James Bishop, Vice Chairman of the Congress of Racial Equality, testified at the Open Meeting of the Advisory Committee that there was

> clear and substantial evidence of segregation existing in the Boston public housing projects.
>
> . . . Of the 25 public housing projects operated by the Boston Housing Authority, seventeen have less than 5 percent Negro families, and in six projects totaling 2,888 family units, there are no Negro families. Four projects. . . . are more than 90 percent Negro and are rapidly approaching the 100 percent mark. . . . In all of the State-supported projects (3,681 units), there are only 128 (3.5 percent) Negro families. . .

Mr. Bishop's opinion that "the existing segregation in Boston public housing is the direct result of deliberate discriminatory assignment of applicants by the Boston Housing Authority"[7] was

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6. Discrimination in Housing in the Boston Metropolitan Area. Report of the Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Dec. 1963, p. 10.

7. Segregation in Boston Public Housing Projects, statement of James Bishop, Vice Chairman of Boston Core, Open Meeting, Mar. 5, 1963, p. 8.

based in part on official reports on racial occupancy of the various projects and in part on a survey of 169 BHA tenants chosen at random from four projects with the following nonwhite occupancy at that time: Mission Hill (0 percent), Mission Hill Extension (87 percent), Orchard Park (24 percent) and Lenox Street (98 percent). The study examined possible explanations for the clear pattern of segregation in Boston public housing. While the survey did not and could not establish BHA discrimination with affirmative evidence, it appeared to rule out explanations other than discrimination.

A preference for segregated projects on the part of public housing applicants is one explanation which the survey tended to refute. Asked their current preferences, 49 percent of the white tenants and 3 percent of the Negro tenants favored segregated housing. Sixty-six percent of those interviewed said that at the time of application, they had not expressed a preference for any project.

A preference for a particular neighborhood or section of Boston is also thought to explain racial concentrations in public housing. This point of view can not account for the nonwhite occupancy in Mission Hill (0.1 percent) and Mission Hill Extension (86.6 percent) which are in the same neighborhood across the street from one another.

A third possible explanation is that present patterns are a residue of a former discriminatory policy. However, the newly constructed housing for the elderly is reproducing the familiar racial occupancy patterns. It is noteworthy that in the 10 State-supported projects exclusive of Camden Street (99 percent nonwhite,) the average nonwhite occupancy was 5 percent in 1958 and 3.2 percent in 1962.

The survey stated that the odds against producing the present occupancy ratios by sheer chance are 1 quintillion to 1, and concluded that deliberate discriminatory assignment is the sole possible explanation of racial occupancy patterns in Boston public housing projects.[8]

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8. The methods used in the survey, and all of the foregoing figures, are set forth in Mr. Bishop's report entitled Segregation in Boston Public Housing Projects, Mar. 5, 1963.

For the purposes of this study, reports on occupancy as of September 30, 1963 were secured from the Boston Housing Authority regarding the State-aided projects, and as of December 31, 1963, from the United States Public Housing Administration for Federal-aided projects. These data are compiled in Appendix F, tables 1 and 2, respectively. Each project was then located on a map showing school district boundaries so that the racial composition of the project could be compared with that of the elementary school attended by children in the project. This information also is given in the tables mentioned above.

In the Boston Housing Authority's State-aided projects,as in its Federal-aided projects, there appears to be a deliberate racial assignment policy, since 98.6 percent of the families in one project, Camden Street, are Negroes and the percentage of Negro families in the remaining 9 projects ranges from 0.1 to 5.8 percent.

The Camden Street project is located in the Dwight elementary district and the children attend the Joseph J. Hurley School. The Hurley School is 82.2 percent nonwhite, having 108 white and 500 Negro pupils. It would seem clear that 98.6 percent Negro occupancy of the Camden project substantially contributes to the racial imbalance in the Hurley School.

Similarly, the large proportion of white families in all other State-aided projects (96-100 percent) helps to maintain the predominantly white character of the nearest schools. The school districts in which these projects are located are 94 to 99.9 percent white. If Negro families were distributed relatively evenly in the State-aided projects,there would be less imbalance in school populations.

The Federal-aided public housing has a higher proportion of Negro families than the State-aided--23.2 percent compared with 3.7 percent. However, the distribution of Negro families in various projects varies widely and those containing a high percentage of Negro residents are found to be in school districts showing a similar racial composition. Lenox Street and Whittier Street have, respectively, 99.7 and 96.9 percent nonwhite families. Both projects are located in the Hyde-Everett district. Everett School is 98.8 percent nonwhite. Hyde School is 99.1 percent nonwhite.

The Charlestown project has 1,140 units, 5 occupied by Asian families and none by Negroes. The new Warren-Prescott School and the older Kent School, which children from this project attend, have no Negro pupils. East Boston, McCormack Houses and Old Colony have no nonwhite families. East Boston is in the Lyman district which is 0.1 percent nonwhite in enrollment. McCormack

Houses and Old Colony are in the Andrew district which is 0.3 percent nonwhite. Similarly Washington and Beech Street development with 1.1 percent nonwhite families is in Longfellow, 0.6 percent nonwhite.

The Federal housing developments that contain both white and nonwhite families in substantial proportions are found in school districts with similar racial ratios, Orchard Park, Dearborn district; South End, Rice-Franklin district; Franklin Hill Avenue, Paine district; Bromley Park, Lowell-Kennedy district, and Columbia Point, Dever district.

A serious question as to the existence of de jure segregation is raised by the foregoing parallels between predominantly nonwhite occupancy of public housing and predominantly nonwhite elementary schools and school districts. Were it to be determined that predominantly Negro schools resulted from the assignment of public housing tenants on a racially homogeneous basis, a case might well be made that official governmental action produced segregated schools in violation of the Constitution.

3. Purposes of Public Education in the United States

During the two-day Open Meeting of the Committee, six nationally known educators and other social scientists, in addition to the Superintendent of Boston Public Schools and members of his staff, and the Deputy Commissioner of Education of Massachusetts, discussed the purposes of education in our Nation and the effects of racial isolation upon the achievement of those purposes. As stated by Superintendent William H. Ohrenberger, the three primary purposes of education are: mastery of basic knowledge and skills; strengthening of character; and the inculcation of those disciplines and ideals fundamental to life in our democracy.[9] The statements of others as to the purposes of education differed somewhat in words and in detail but were similar in essence.

Dr. Vincent C. Conroy of the Harvard Graduate School of Education declared that "public schools are established to enlarge the freedom and expand the opportunities open to individuals".[10] Although he recognized that other aims of education might be added, Dr. Gerald S. Lesser of Harvard University said that "our schools function to teach academic skills, realistic self-concepts, and the motivation to learn".[11] Dr. Gertrude S. Noar, National Director of Education of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, stated "each [child] is entitled to full and equal opportunity to develop his potentialities for himself as well as his country. . . . It is clear that public education is the means which our democratic society provides to accomplish that purpose. . ."[12]

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9. A Statement of Administrative Policy by William H. Ohrenberger, Superintendent of Public Schools, Open Meeting, Mar. 20, 1964, p. 2.

10. Statement of Dr. Vincent Conroy, Executive Director for the Center for Field Studies, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, Open Meeting, Mar. 21, 1964, p. 6.

11. The Effects of Segregation and Desegregation in the Schools, Dr. Gerald S. Lesser, Director, Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University, Open Meeting, Mar. 21, 1964.

12. Desegregation of Education-The Time is Now, Dr. Gertrude Noar, National Director of Education, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Open Meeting, Mar. 21, 1964, p. 1.

The Hidden Curriculum

Dr. Charles Pinderhughes, Chief of Psychiatric Service at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Boston, employed the term "hidden curriculum" to describe some of the things that a child learns in school outside of the formal teaching process:

> There is increasing acknowledgment of the hidden curriculum being taught in all schools in addition to reading, writing, arithmetic and other planned courses. Schools in fact teach much more, including how to get along with one's fellow man, and how to think about and evaluate oneself and others. Individuals within a school serve as models for imitation and identification and each student is pressed to conform to the kinds of attitudes, beliefs, morals, and behavior which surround him. The areas and styles of conforming, competing, rebelling, and cooperating are part of the hidden curriculum in each school. Intangibles such as the reputation and influence of a school, of its teachers, its pupils and the nature of the neighborhood. . . contribute to the tone and character of the educational program . . . informal education, the classroom 'atmosphere' and 'climate' and the psychology and cultural traits of students . . . may show considerable variation from school to school even when curriculum and teacher activity may be relatively standardized. As much attention should be directed to the educational process between pupils as is currently given to the educational process between teachers and pupils.
>
> In a community composed predominantly of a single ethnic group, the educational process between pupils in the neighborhood school serves as a vehicle for conveying and perpetuating cultural characteristics. As such, a racially imbalanced school can either enrich or impoverish a child, depending upon what is imparted . . .[13]

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13. The Adverse Effects Upon Mental Health and Educational Process of De Facto Segregation of Negroes, by Charles A. Pinderhughes, M.D., Chief of Psychiatric Service, Veterans Administration Hospital, Boston, Open Meeting, Mar. 21, 1964. The full text of Dr. Pinderhughes' statement appears as Appendix C of this report.

The American Negro is the only minority group in the United States without a culture of its own. All other groups have a religion, an internal source of authority and group cohesion, a special language, traditions, institutions or other roots which are traceable to a lengthy group existence, usually in another country. American Negroes have none of these.

The numerous languages, family and group ties, and all prior cultural institutions of the millions of slaves brought to America were destroyed. An establishment for training was developed. Laws guaranteed the master absolute power over his slaves and permitted unlimited physical and psychological discipline to break and train slaves to unquestioning obedience. The machinery of the police and the courts were not available to slaves. Laws decreed that fathers of slaves were legally unknown. Marriage was denied any standing in law. Children could be sold without their mothers except in Louisiana which kept the mother-child relationship preserved until the child reached ten years of age. There was a general belief that education would make slaves dissatisfied and rebellious. Distribution of books, including the Bible, or teaching of slaves were prohibited by law in some States.

Thus by means of one of the most coercive social systems on record, the character of American Negroes and the nature of their families and of their groups were clearly and rigidly defined in a closed system which supplied the training and sanctions needed to produce recognizable personality types. Such stereotyped characteristics were produced by this environmental pressure that some persons, viewing the products of this system, have gained the erroneous impression that the characteristics were inherent in the people rather than induced.[14]

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14. Ibid.

Dr. Pinderhughes stated that eight generations of slavery formed child-rearing practices which were the slave's most important training school, and produced obedient, docile slaves whose aggressions were directed against themselves. A slave's education, he said, was a life and death struggle to reverse or inhibit all assertiveness or aggression, especially in male children. Dr. Pinderhughes noted that this learning process continued after emancipation and even after migration to the North.

> Negroes forced into a low caste group in the South have, upon migrating, unconsciously induced in Boston relationships similar to those in the South. With 'segregation de jure' stamped into and thoroughly interwoven in the culture and into the personalities of Southern Negroes, it was inevitable that it should be carried northward to precipitate out as 'de facto segregation'. They formed their compounds in the northern cities, and in these de facto segregated communities they reproduced and passed on the only culture they had to pass on, with the only child rearing practices they knew, in the matrix of the only family structure and group organization they had known.[15]

Dr. Pinderhughes stated that this heritage accounted for the fact that the Northern Negro may fail to take advantage of the opportunities open to him, such as the stated right of any child to transfer to any school in Boston under the School Committee's "Open Enrollment" Plan:

> Although the gate to the compound in the Northern city is open, few find it. Many have been so trained not to reach out or to defeat themselves that they must persistently fail at just those points where constructive changes are possible. Most of them do not believe the gate is open even when they are told and offered encouragement. Some who believe have so renounced any capacity for initiative or constructive assertion as to be immobilized and apathetic.
>
> It is for these reasons, as well as for economic ones, that the open enrollment plan in its present form will not work for those who need it most. It is also unrealistic to leave the burden for change upon Negro parents when basically the American

---

15. Ibid.

Negro family has been disrupted and made impotent as a source of initiative and purposeful action.[16]

Dr. Pinderhughes indicated that the evils he believes to result from predominantly Negro schools are educational evils and can only be remedied by "breaking up the compound":

> Neither words nor pictures nor large amounts of intellectualized information will substantially modify the compound without the corrective emotional experiences of increased integration. Unless the compound is broken up it will go on reproducing its own kind, even as communities of other ethnic groups keep reproducing their own.
>
> Education is central in all of this, certainly slavery was an educational matter as well as a political, economic, and moral matter, and modification of a caste finds education at the very heart of the process.
>
> Racially imbalanced schools in Negro neighborhoods function as a mold which produces and perpetuates an unfavorable stamp. Schools in communities heavily populated by other ethnic groups also serve as vehicles for transmitting group characteristics to individuals, but the stamp imparted in such schools is more adaptive and more often of positive value.[17]

Dr. Pinderhughes forcefully stated his conclusions as to the effects of predominantly Negro schools on Negro children as follows:

> In this context, the Negro ghetto and its accompanying predominantly Negro schools can more easily be seen as agents which have adverse effects upon self esteem, value systems, motivations, aspirations, and behavior of pupils. Such adverse effects prevailing in many students can seriously impair the educational processes in a school despite the presence of excellent teachers and adequate facilities.[18]

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16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.

Dr. Pinderhughes stated in closing that the history of race relations in our country has also damaged white Americans:

> That most white persons flee as if from a plague when Negroes move near them is a product of their life experience and education. Increased integration in education starting at early ages will do much to prevent the emergence of another generation of hurt, frustrated, disillusioned, and angry coloreds and guilty, panic-stricken, perplexed, and angry whites. The adverse effects of the present system upon the mental health of Americans have too long been swept under the rug.[19]

Dr. Pinderhughes, by reason of his psychiatric training and experience, favored racially balanced schools on grounds of mental health; educators addressing the Committee supported racially balanced schools on educational grounds.

In response to a question as to whether compensatory programs in predominantly Negro schools can solve the learning problem of the Negro child, Dr. Gertrude Noar said:

> Improvement of the education of the Negro child cannot take place sufficiently--there cannot be sufficient improvement unless it is accompanied by integrated education. The child is harmed in mind and soul by the very fact of separation, segregation. There can be no superior separated school or even equal separated school. There has to be an integrated school.[20]

Citing the growing concern among Negro parents, Dr. Noar stated:

> Negroes have become aware of the effect of aspiration and expectation on learning. Negro children have not aspired to become anything important because their parents have not been permitted employment commensurate with their individual abilities and training. Parents do not expect their children to succeed. The children soon become convinced that they cannot achieve educational or vocational goals.[21]

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19. Ibid.

20. Record, Mar. 21, 1964, p. 23.
21. Id. at 29.

Dr. Dan W. Dodson, Director of the Center for Human Relations at New York University, who has served as a consultant on problems of racial imbalance in public school systems in Washington, D.C., New Rochelle, N.Y., Englewood, N.J., East Orange, N.J., and Mt. Vernon, N.Y., and who currently serves as a consultant to the New York City Board of Education, made the following observations:

> Equal education cannot be provided in an all-Negro school. In my entire experience I have yet to find an all-Negro or nearly all-Negro school which measures up to the standards the community has a right to expect of schools for its children. We are forced to admit that either the differences are biological--which only the bigots would contend--or else admit that they are the differences which have accrued from social rituals through which we have come. If they are cultural they are capable of change and alteration. For the white community to live with such knowledge of these traumas without making massive efforts to correct them can only provide moral corruptness.
>
> When a school is all-Negro in our culture the entire society looks upon it as inferior. If the whole culture conceives it as inferior, I contend that, indeed, makes it so. Teachers who are assigned to it consider themselves as less fortunate than those who teach elsewhere, morale is harder to maintain, the schools are harder to staff. Teachers expect less of the students, the students expect less of themselves, they are traumatized by the sense of rejection which stems from the segregation, hence academic performance cannot be achieved. Jim Crow symbolizing what it does in our culture, to require a Negro child to attend such a school would be comparable to requiring a Jewish child to attend a school with a swastika over the door.[22]

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22. Statement of Dr. Dan Dodson, Director of the Center for Human Relations and Community Studies, New York University, Open Meeting, Mar. 21, 1964, p. 5.

Dr. Dodson said that in large cities the neighborhood school had lost its relevance as an educational concept:

> The neighborhood school has lost its relevance as an educational concept in modern urban life--if, indeed, it ever had any. The idea of the neighborhood school was borrowed from the concept of the community school. This idea was that it brought all the children of the community to a common experience. It was thought of as a device for bringing in differences rather than shutting them out. The neighborhood school has the opposite connotation. It is impossible to have two schools in a community which are exactly equal in status. One is thought of as better than the other. Those who attend it are thought to be more fortunate. Parents consider themselves proprietors of such an institution, and fight to defend it from encroachment in a way that smacks of tribalism.[23]

Dr. Dodson stated his belief that school boards have an affirmative duty to promote racial balance:

> It is the responsibility of the board of education to arrange the encounters between children whose backgrounds are different, to the end that they learn the skills of citizenship commensurate with the era of which they are a part. The most basic curriculum decision a board of education makes is 'Who is going to school with whom?' In other words these are not simply civil rights matters, they are educational matters.[24]

Another expert who appeared before the Committee was Dr. John H. Niemeyer, President of the Bank Street College of Education, New York City. The college, a center for research and pilot educational projects, has carried on studies in elementary schools for more than fifteen years. That experience has led, Dr. Niemeyer said, to these conclusions:

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23. Id. at 20.

24. Id. at 6.

> All that we know about children and learning and school organization confirms our belief that school segregation--whether stemming from community policy or from unplanned residential concentrations--is an important cause of educational deprivation affecting majority group children as well as minority group children. Such deprivation is morally wrong, and in terms of society's need for a well-educated citizenry, inexcusably wasteful and dangerous.
>
> Integration, therefore, has become, in our view, an essential task for our schools. Further, the integration of our schools is an obligation on society. Without it the school fails to provide for our children and youth a living model of a world made up of people who are different in many ways but who are, at the same time, equal.[25]

Dr. Niemeyer said that the image of the neighborhood school as the place of friendly, easy association between children, parents and school officials has little relation to reality.

> For many, perhaps for most, of the families living in the deprived areas in our cities, and even for large numbers of families and children who live in more middle-class areas which would not be labelled ghettos or slums, the concept of the neighborhood school is a fantasy. . . . Of all the arguments for the neighborhood school none is more important to us educators than that which states that communication between the home and the school depends upon the proximity of the school building to the family residence--which all too often is a crowded tenement. I say this because we believe that cooperation between home and school to support children in their learning is of great value. The truth is, however, that such dependence does not exist. . . . Schools in general, state the belief

25. Statement of Dr. John H. Niemeyer, President, Bank Street College of Education, Open Meeting, Mar. 21, 1964, pp. 2-3.

> that there should be better communication between themselves and the parents but they rarely organize themselves or have the resources for carrying out an effective communications system. This is particularly true for the large urban school where the need for integration is pressing. We know that many private and parochial school children attend school in areas fairly distant from their homes, yet these schools often maintain better communication with the parents than the public schools do. Good communications depend not on proximity, but upon the development of a reliable communication plan and the ability and resources to bring it about. We cannot justify the myth of the neighborhood school's parent-communication as an argument against integration.[26]

There was clear agreement among the experts who appeared before the Committee that racial imbalance adversely affects the purposes of education in our society.

Policy of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as to Racial Imbalance and Public Education

Dr. Thomas J. Curtin, Deputy Commissioner of Education for the Commonwealth, appeared at the Open Meeting on March 20 as the official representative of the Massachusetts Department of Education. Dr. Curtin reported to the Committee the policy of the State Board of Education with regard to racially imbalanced schools and the underprivileged child and the actions of the State Department of Education in implementation of the Board's policy.

On August 19, 1963, the State Board of Education adopted a resolution declaring its deep concern over "the numbers of American children who are under privileged, partly because of neighborhood imbalance as reflected in some public schools."[27] The Board in its resolution urged each school committee in the Commonwealth to intensify its efforts to identify and to meet the educational needs of any such underprivileged children and advocated:

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26. Id. at pp. 4-6.

27. Statement of Dr. Thomas J. Curtin, Deputy Commissioner of Education, Re Racial Imbalance in the Public Schools of the Commonwealth, Open Meeting, Mar. 20, 1964, p. 1.

> That action, consistent with sound educational practice, be taken immediately to eliminate racial imbalance when and where it is ascertained to exist in any school system.[28]

The State Department of Education has been energetic in furthering the policy enunciated by the Board on August 19, 1963. It has:[29]

> Conducted a 15-week teacher training course at Boston College entitled 'Education and Race Relations', which included lectures by some of the most distinguished authorities in the Nation and was attended by 115 teachers from Boston and surrounding communities; distributed a 'Human Relations Kit' to every public school system in the Commonwealth which included a bibliography on 'Education and Race Relations'; one on 'The Negro in American Life', and a teacher's unit of study called 'Discrimination-Danger of Democracy'.

On February 27, 1964, the State Board of Education reaffirmed its previous policy statement and voted to launch a comprehensive study seeking practical solutions to the educational problems created by racially imbalanced schools. It also authorized the Commissioner of Education to initiate a racial census in the 390 school districts of the Commonwealth, after a ruling from the Attorney General of Massachusetts that such a census was legally permissible. Census forms were distributed pursuant to this authorization on March 2, 1964.[30]

On March 5, 1964, the Board of Education announced the membership of an Advisory Committee charged with carrying out the study authorized on February 27. Two "Task Forces" of experienced educators were appointed to assist the Advisory Committee.[31] As noted above,[32] the Advisory Committee published its interim report on July 1, 1964.

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28. Ibid.
29. Id. at 2.
30. Id. at 2-3.
31. Id. at 3.
32. Introduction, note 2, supra.

The value of the racial census in any discussion of the problems of racial imbalance or their solution can hardly be exaggerated. Estimates of nonwhite enrollment made at the Open Meeting by an NAACP official [33] and a member of the School Committee[34] were found to be far short of the mark. As noted above (Chapter 1, infra) the Superintendent's office apparently had no conception of the nature and extent of nonwhite enrollment prior to the census.

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33. In The Negro and the Boston Public Schools report prepared for the Boston NAACP by Tom Atkins, Part III, 6th page, the Negro pupil population is estimated at 14,000. The census disclosed 21,097 to be the Negro pupil population.

34. Mr. Arthur Gartland estimated (R.83) the Negro pupil population to be approximately 15 percent. The census disclosed 23 percent to be the Negro pupil population.

4. Consideration of Policy of the Boston School Committee

Two members of the School Committee spoke at the Open Meeting on March 2, 1964.

Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, a former chairman of the School Committee, strongly supported the neighborhood school policy and compensatory programs for the "culturally deprived child", whether white or Negro in those schools. Mrs. Hicks declared:[35]

> We have heard it said that many of our schools are predominantly Negro, but this merely reflects the ethnic grouping of the neighborhood. We all believe in the Boston Public School system, in the neighborhood school; that the children go to school in the neighborhood where they live and with the children with whom they play. We do not at any time have any type of discrimination in the Boston Public School system.

Mrs. Hicks said "I heartily do not believe in segregated schools. . . . I am for civil rights. . . . I would hope that some day all our schools across the whole nation would be well acquainted with every nation and every race and color and creed."[36] "But", she added, "we are dealing with very little children. We believe in the neighborhood school. We believe at this age children should go to school in the neighborhood where they live, and they shouldn't have to go miles and miles to another school."[37] With great consistency, Mrs. Hicks maintained her belief in the neighborhood school and her view that altering boundary lines was not an educational matter:

> I honestly and firmly believe in the neighborhood school, and that the answer to the problem of the culturally deprived child will be through education, not through transportation, not through changing of boundary lines because of race, color or creed, but rather let us give to these children what they need most, and that need will be served through education.[38]

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35. Record p. 87.
36. Id. at 96.
37. Ibid.
38. Record pp. 87-88.

Mrs. Hicks was asked "If you feel, as you have stated in this eloquent way, that we ought to have all people live together, do you feel that the School Committee has no responsibility in drawing district lines. . . not bussing. . . to try to help a little bit in this way. . . ?"[39] Her reply was unequivocal:[40]

> I believe that the lines should never be drawn with regard to race, color or creed.

Mr. Arthur Gartland, also a member of the Boston School Committee, seemed to differ from Mrs. Hicks, at least as to the immutability of the present method of assignment of pupils to public schools. He said:[41]

> I hope that the School Committee will authorize and instruct the school administration to restudy the distribution of pupils. You will hear more detailed information later in the day from Herbert Gleason, you will hear more figures, which indicate the possibility of redistribution of the pupils of our system in such a way as to bring about a classroom population close to the city average. At the present time, we do have unbalanced classes, and this is obviously a heavy load on the teachers and correspondingly a deprivation of pupils. But this and many other things, I think, will be conceived and will be carried out for the benefit of the minorities of our City.

Mr. Gartland's remarks were directed to class size rather than ethnic distribution. On the latter matter he said he could not predict School Committee action beyond cooperation in the ethnic count requested by the Commission of Education.[42] He expressed hope that the Advisory Committee to the State Board of Education would make recommendations for the reduction of ethnic imbalance.[43] An integrated school would be beneficial in his opinion, he said, "since the American democracy is composed of many, many diverse elements, that the early lessons in democracy can be greatly aided by the schools representing, so far as feasible, a microcosm of the community, of our city."[44]

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39. Id. at 97. Question asked by Professor Byse.
40. Ibid.
41. Id. at 79.
42. Id. at 76.
43. Id. at 82.
44. Id. at 85-86

New Schools

Although the Boston School Committee, with the exception of Mr. Gartland, seems to be committed to the neighborhood school policy so far as existing schools are concerned, both Mr. Gartland and Superintendent Ohrenberger explained that sites for new schools were being selected to avoid racially unbalanced schools. Mr. Gartland stated:[45]

> Now, significant to you who are concerned with investigating civil rights, I think, is the fact that the school administration, present and erstwhile, does understand that there is an advantage in the location of school sites in such a way as to avoid gross imbalance. The greatest care is being taken in the location of both the new high school facility and in the Humboldt Avenue School--and the same will be said of all other such schools and additions; the greatest care is being taken to avoid such schools being **exclusively or predominantly Negro.**

Superintendent Ohrenberger cited the following example:[46]

> We had a choice of establishing an elementary school in the location of the Lewis School and develop the Lewis School as a new junior high school, and the decision was to relocate the new junior high school on the periphery of the area and establish the site of the Lewis School as an elementary school--to establish the new junior high school in the periphery of the area, which would allow them to draw not only from the Washington Park area, but also from Roxbury, Jamaica, and so forth.

Commenting on this statement by Superintendent Ohrenberger, Mr. Gartland said:[47]

> This illustrates the point that the school administration and the chief administrator who finally puts the o.k. on a location is

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45. Id. at 77.

46. Id. at 80.

47. Ibid.

> aware of the advisability of avoiding unbalanced schools; and to such an extent that he can--and I think that he is limited--I think this is his prime motive in site location.

The policy of avoiding racial imbalance in choosing new school sites does not carry over into the selection of schools to which additions are built.[48] On this point Mr. Gartland said:

> Now, wherever we're building additions to schools, which are much needed, this will obviously have no impact on this particular problem. Such an example would be the addition to the Grover Cleveland School on Charles Street in Dorchester, or the Garfield School in Brighton; but where new schools are built, this [racial balance] is a primary motive in site selection.

Open Enrollment

The Open Enrollment policy recently adopted by the Boston School Committee is one exception to its neighborhood school policy. In speaking at the Fourth Annual Education Conference before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., May 3-4, 1962, Mr. Frederick J. Gillis, then Superintendent of Boston Public Schools, declared:[49]

> That act [Mass. Fair Education Practices Act] wasn't necessary for Boston because since 1635, with the opening of the public Latin School, we have had inte-ration, and at the present time any child .ay go to any school, in any grade of any system, provided there is a seat vacant for him, after the neighbors have been accommodated, provided the course fits his needs and provided, if transportation is necessary, his parents will pay the carfare.

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48. Id. at 81.

49. Record p. 135.

The Committee heard testimony as to the operation of the Open Enrollment program from the school administration and from parents, students, and interested citizens. One witness related her experiences concerning the proposed transfer of a child in her home in a statement at the Open Meeting held on March 21, 1964.[50] She stated that the assistant principal in her local junior high school told her that the college preparatory course was filled. She related that when she expressed a desire to transfer to another district, the assistant principal promptly suggested that the child wait for an opening which might occur if someone dropped out of the college course. This witness gave a history of being resisted and cross-examined at every step in her effort to obtain a transfer. She said that there were no forms or printed instructions available to those who wanted to transfer, either at the principal's office in the neighborhood school, or in the assistant superintendent's office. It was her impression that the day to day administration of the Open Enrollment program managed to make it as difficult as possible for a parent to have his child transferred out of the school in his neighborhood.

A student told the Committee of the difficulties his mother had had in trying to transfer his younger brother to a racially more equally balanced school:[51]

> My brother wanted a transfer out of school in the sixth grade to go to another school, more equally balanced school, and the principal gave my mother this big runaround for four months, until it was too late for him to transfer, until he was not able to transfer. He tried to get in the seventh, and it was too late to transfer. So finally, in the eighth grade, she told my brother and she took him down to the Solomon Lewenberg and she asked the principal, 'How can I get my son into the school?' And the principal said, 'Well, you have to go back to your other school and get a transfer paper from the other school, and a list of his marks and everything.' When my mother told the problem how the principal was giving the run-around, she said, 'I'll take your son'--and she gave him a room number; he wanted to go into the college course, and she sent him down to the room, and he was enrolled right there, and the principal told my mother she'd take care of the enrollment plan.

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50. Id. at 119-124.
51. Id. at 133-134.

> This is the way we were discouraged up to this point. It was almost too late to get him into a good school.

The school administration maintains, on the other hand, that the Open Enrollment plan works well. The assistant superintendent who is in charge of the program stated that it had been well publicized and that administrative personnel were familiar with its procedures. The School Committee submitted a memorandum circulated by former Superintendent Frederick J. Gillis on March 29, 1962, setting forth the Open Enrollment policy in the following terms.[52]

> It is the policy in Boston to have each pupil attend the school serving his neighborhood community unless the child's physical, mental, or educational needs require assignment to specially organized classes or schools (e.g. a Braille class, or the Horace Mann School for the Deaf). However, it is also the practice, at the request of the parent, to permit a child to attend any school having appropriate grades or courses, provided that particular school, after enrolling the children of its own locale, has adequate accommodations for pupils from other districts.
>
> Therefore, head masters and principals will accept all applicants for admission to their schools provided space is available. Continuance of such permission is a privilege and depends on attendance, punctuality, conduct, and safe transportation.

Mr. Herbert P. Gleason, President of Citizens for Boston Public Schools, testified at the Open Meeting on March 20. He commented upon and made recommendations concerning open enrollment.[53]

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52. Superintendent's Circular, No. 173, 1961-62.

53. Statement of Herbert P. Gleason submitted at the Open Meeting Mar. 20, 1964. p. 6.

> The present open enrollment policy can be made far more effective. Negro parents have great difficulty discovering where vacant seats exist, and nothing is done to allay their fears that a child will encounter a hostile attitude if he moves to a white school. If the administration endorses this policy, it should make it effective.
>
> Every school principal should have in his office a complete list of open seats, updated at reasonable intervals, and every parent should be shown this list cordially upon request. Parents should be encouraged to talk with the principal and teacher of the district they are considering, and their own principal should help them make an appointment for the purpose. As pointed out before, the last official report mentioned 13,000 empty seats.

With firm commitments to the present "neighborhood school" policy and "open enrollment" policy, the policy and practice of the School Committee appear to be that if parents wish their child to attend a school other than the school in his neighborhood, the initiative lies entirely with them. In the preceding chapter, Dr. Pinderhughes expressed the opinion that such a policy demands entirely too much of the parents of a pupil attending a racially imbalanced school. [54]

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54. Chapter 3, supra, pp. 15-16.

5. Comparison of Predominantly White, Nonwhite, and "Integrated" Schools

At the Open Meeting on March 20, 1964, the Superintendent's office presented and filed with the Committee statistical information relating to the 57 elementary school districts. As noted above[55] the Committee, in this report, has adopted a broad classification describing as white the 35 districts in which 90 percent or more of the pupils are white; as Negro the 7 districts in which 90 percent or more of the pupils are nonwhite, and as integrated the 15 districts in which at least 10 percent of the pupils are white and at least 10 percent are nonwhite.

A. FACTORS TENDING TO BE DISRUPTIVE

1. Overcrowding

The Committee was unable to obtain definitive figures on over and under utilization of classroom space. Although some of the predominantly Negro districts are in urban renewal areas in which substandard housing has been demolished, there appears to be a greater proportion of empty seats in the predominantly white than in the predominantly Negro schools. The seven school districts with 90 or more percent Negro enrollment (average Negro enrollment 96.96 percent) had an average of 7.0 percent vacant seats. The seven most predominantly white districts (average white enrollment 99.9 percent) had an average of 8.6 percent vacant seats.[56]

2. Turnover

Figures were submitted as to the total number of admissions and discharges in each elementary school district for the period September 1963 to February 1964. The additions and discharges were added in each district and the total as a percentage of the number of pupils in the district is described as the "Turnover Percentage".[57]

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55. Chapter 1, supra, p. 5.
56. Seat occupancy as shown on Sept. 1963 school census.
57. Item 6A of material submitted by Superintendent's office.

Districts	Total Admissions or Discharges	Pupils in District *	Turnover Percentage
White	9,743	35,232	27.65
Integrated	6,935	15,807	43.87
Negro	4,376	7,412	59.03

* The total district figures do not vary substantially from the figures resulting from the census of March 26, 1964.

3. Special Class Children in Regular Classes

The Superintendent's office also submitted figures on the number of children in each district attending regular classes who should be attending special classes. Superintendent Ohrenberger said that this category refers to children mentally retarded to various degrees.[58] The presence of such children is, of course, a disturbing factor to the other children and tends to lessen a teacher's overall effectiveness. The figures for the three categories of schools are as follows:[59]

Districts	Total Pupils *	Special Class Pupils Not in Special Classes	Percentage
White	35,232	263	.75
Integrated	15,807	267	1.69
Negro	7,412	320	4.31

* As of September 30, 1963.

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58. Letter to Father Drinan, May 7, 1964.

59. Item 6B of material submitted by Superintendent's office.

B. WIDENING DIFFERENCES AT HIGHER GRADE LEVELS

Figures submitted for intelligence quotients and reading achievement levels tended to show that disparities existing in earlier grades grew larger in higher grades. As to intelligence ratios, the figures showed:[60]

Districts	Average Grade Four	Average Grade Six
White	102.0	107.0
Integrated	96.0	99.7
Negro	93.7	96.3

As to reading achievement, the tendency is more marked. The white and Negro groups were approximately one-quarter of a year apart in reading level in second grade and nearly one year apart in sixth grade. The district averages are as follows:[61]

Districts	Average Reading Level at Grade Two	Average Reading Level at Grade Six
White	2.55	5.93
Integrated	2.35	5.15
Negro	2.27	5.0

C. TEACHERS' QUALIFICATIONS

Although length of teaching experience is not, in itself, a clear indication of a teacher's worth, the Committee analyzed the teachers' experience data submitted for each district. The figures show that half of the teachers in the predominantly Negro districts have 10 years or less experience while nearly half of those in the predominantly white districts have 21 or more years experience.[62]

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60. Id. Item 6E.

61. Id. Item 6F.

62. Id. Item 6D.

Districts	Total Teachers	Teacher Experience Years 0-5 No.	%	6-10 No.	%	11-20 No.	%	21 No.	%
White	1,069	198	18.5	137	12.8	253	23.6	511	47.8
Integrated	492	103	20.4	87	17.6	118	23.9	184	37.3
Negro	236	59	25.0	57	24.1	48	20.3	72	30.5

The educational preparation of teachers varied little from group to group. Teachers taking Master's courses or holding a Master's or Doctor's degree represented 47.7 percent of those in the predominantly white districts, 53.8 percent of those in the "intergrated" schools, and 43.3 percent of those in the predominantly Negro districts.

Educational Preparation of Teachers - Percentages[63]

Districts	Equivalency	Bachelor's Degree	Bachelor's Courses	Master's Degree	Master's Courses	Doctor's Degree
White	14.6	28.1	9.3	31.7	15.3	0.7
Integrated	6.6	29.2	10.4	33.7	19.0	0.8
Negro	5.3	38.7	17.7	24.5	18.1	0.3

D. SUMMARY

In the assignment of teachers to school districts, there is no substantial difference as to the educational qualifications of teachers in the three categories of districts described in this report. A difference in the experience of teachers in the three groups is noted with the less experienced more often found to be assigned to districts having the greater number of Negro pupils.

The available figures do not unequivocally support the view that the predominantly Negro schools are more overcrowded than the predominantly white schools. As to two other factors that tend to disrupt the classroom atmosphere, the figures clearly show the

63. Id. Item 6C.

predominantly Negro schools to be at a disadvantage. First, those districts contain a considerably higher proportion of pupils who, in the words of the Superintendent's office, should be attending special classes and not regular classes, and, second, they exhibit a much higher rate of pupil turnover.

Tests administered to Boston school pupils show that the margin by which children in predominantly white districts score ahead of children in predominantly Negro districts grows larger, both as to intelligence ratios and reading achievement, as the children progress through elementary school. This finding is consistent with studies cited by Dr. G. S. Lesser. In his statement at the Open Meeting, Dr. Lesser said:[64]

> Many other studies (e.g. Ferral, 1959; Public Education Association, 1955; Wolff, 1962, 1963) supply evidence that segregated schools function on lower levels of academic achievement than do other schools in the same educational systems. This inferiority of academic performance in racially imbalanced schools becomes greater and greater as the children progress through the school grades. Deutsch (1960), for example, reports that it is at the first-grade level that the smallest differences between racial groups are observed, and that these differences in academic functioning become more and more marked in the later grades. By the time the children in racially-imbalanced schools reach the upper grades, they are no match whatever for the children from less deprived backgrounds. (emphasis added)

Dr. Lesser also cited studies from Washington, D.C. (Hansen, 1960) and Louisville (Stallings, 1960) indicating that when previously segregated schools were integrated, the performance of Negro and white children improved.[65] His conclusions based on various studies were:[66]

> 1. Under segregated school conditions, Negro children are uniformly and significantly inferior in academic achievement to white children.

64. Supra note at 11.
65. P. 32 supra.
66. P. 35 supra.

2. The racial balancing of the schools contributes greatly to improving academic achievement of Negro and usually, also, of white children.

6. Compensatory Programs

OPERATION COUNTERPOISE

Operation Counterpoise, a pilot program in the Henry L. Higginson Elementary School District, was described to the Committee by Deputy Superintendent Marguerite G. Sullivan. She summarized its objectives as follows:[67]

> Operation Counterpoise is a preventive program designed to catch undesirable situations in their incipiency, to improve children's attitudes toward school, to inspire standards of excellence which should be carried over into secondary education for all and beyond for many. It is our hope through this program to raise the achievement of these pupils closer to their potentials which have for too long been submerged by parental lack of values.

To carry out the program the school department assigned master teachers, who are responsible for the program in their respective schools, to each school in the Higginson district. Emphasis is placed upon reading and arithmetic skills.

Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), a nonprofit agency sponsored by the Ford Foundation, has assisted with plans and financial support for parts of the project, notably in the assignment of two reading teachers and a school adjustment counselor for the district. Mr. Joseph S. Slavet, executive director of ABCD, told the Committee that the reading program has been in operation only since March 3, 1964, and that the school adjustment counselor program began field operations January 20.[68]

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67. Operation Counterpoise, Henry L. Higginson Pilot Program, statement of Deputy Superintendent Marguerite Sullivan, p. 6, Open Meeting, Mar. 20, 1964.
68. Statement of Joseph S. Slavet, p. 6, Open Meeting, Mar. 21, 1964.

A third ABCD-supported program, a pre-kindergarten program for 3½ to 4½ year olds, was due to begin in April 1964. The purpose of this new program, which stresses parent-teacher contacts, is to build home support and understanding for the child's formal learning experience at the earliest possible age.[69]

Mr. Slavet stressed that all of these are experimental, pilot projects that reach and will continue to reach only a small portion of the residents of the areas and of the children in their schools:[70]

> To be properly evaluated some individuals must benefit only from one or two programs, some must benefit from an array of them and others must not be within their scope.
>
> Within this context it is true that members of minority groups will benefit. But it is also true that those benefited will be relatively few. . .

The Superintendent's office supplied figures indicating that the cost of a developmental reading program including two reading teachers, books, and educational materials would be $13,324 per district, or $253,156 for the "19 culturally deprived" districts and $759,468 citywide. The cost of a school adjustment counselor in the "nineteen elementary disadvantaged areas" was placed at $179,000.[71]

Mrs. Barbara Elam, speaking for Higginson District parents at the Open Meeting on March 21, 1964, stated that it was her opinion that "Operation Counterpoise" was established as a result of complaints by Negro parents. Beginning as a small group of mothers that met with the principal of the Higginson school on January 24, 1963 to express its concern over vandalism in the school, teachers leaving, overcrowded classrooms, and lack of communication with parents, the group rallied the support of many parents, and that of the NAACP.[72] The pressure thus generated, she believed, led to Operation Counterpoise.

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69. Id. at 4.
70. Id. at 2.
71. Figures from the Superintendent's Office, Sept. 12, 1963.
72. History of Operation Counterpoise, statement of Mrs. Barbara Elam, pp. 3-4, Open Meeting, Mar. 21, 1964.

Deputy Superintendent Sullivan gave a different account of the origin of the program. A former principal at the Hyde School in Roxbury, Miss Sullivan testified that she was "appalled" with the change in the community when she returned to it in September 1962 as assistant superintendent in charge of elementary education in that section of the city. She said further:[73]

> I was appalled at the change in the community, I was appalled at the number of in-migrants. I was appalled at the need for motivation; and I came into the office and sat down with Dr. Ohrenberger, who was then Deputy Superintendent, and said 'We have to do something, and we pulled together the things which we had been doing and wrote it as one package. It was tried at the Higginson School because I saw six teachers leaving the district, I saw the principal transferred, and I knew that it was mandatory that they have a well-structured and well-directed program.

Mrs. Elam and her group have misgivings concerning Operation Counterpoise, believing it to reflect a failure of the school authorities to appreciate that Negro children, like other racial groups, include all kinds of children--those of high ability, the average, the late bloomers, and others who lag behind for many reasons.[74] Mrs. Elam stated that no provision had been made by the School Committee for average or above-average students in the predominantly Negro districts.[75] Miss Sullivan contends that Operation Counterpoise is designed to assist all students in the district, whether of high, average or low ability.

Teacher Training In Human Relations

One of the requests put to the School Committee by the NAACP on August 15, 1963, was for in-service training programs for principals and teachers in the area of human relations. In its reply to the School Committee on September 12, the Board of Superintendents announced that plans for "an in-service program that will make a valuable contribution to the solution of problems which face our teachers in the instruction of the culturally disadvantaged" were being made for approval of the School Committee and implementation

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73. Record, p. 94.

74. Statement of Mrs. Elam, p. 7.

75. Id. at 5.

with the beginning of the new year. A nine-lecture series entitled "Education in Disadvantaged Urban Areas" was announced in the Winter 1963-64 issue of the Boston Public Schools Review.

A more extensive source of human relations training for teachers is the 15-lecture series offered by the Massachusetts Department of Education called "Education and Race Relations".[76]

Private Tutoring Programs

Mr. Joseph Murray, Program Director of Norfolk House Center, a member agency of the Roxbury Federation of Neighborhood Centers, appeared before the Committee at the Open Meeting on March 20 to explain the work the centers are doing with the Negro children of Roxbury. He stated that although the basic purposes of the centers are broad, they have been getting more and more into the field of education in recent years. They now have more than 200 children enrolled in tutoring programs which were set up in response to the need expressed by parents and children alike. After the program got underway, they also received many referrals from the local public schools which could not provide individual tutoring. The centers, Mr. Murray said, do not think education is the area of their greatest competence; in his opinion, meeting the educational needs of children is the job of the Boston School Department.

In addition to the tutoring program, the centers, through their Youth Employment program, have arranged for the education of illiterates in a volunteer program, and college guidance and financial assistance to Roxbury youth.[77]

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76. The Massachusetts Department of Education makes tapes of these lectures available upon receipt of the appropriate number of blank reels. The Deputy Commissioner of Education informed a representative of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights that the Departments of Education for the States of Pennsylvania and New York had ordered the entire series.

77. Statement of Joseph Murray, Open Meeting, Mar. 20, 1964.

The Boston School Department took a step in the right direction in starting "Operation Counterpoise", Mr. Murray said, but more steps are needed, such as in the area of de facto segregation. As to the latter, Mr. Murray stated:[78]

> We feel that the School Department of Boston is not responsible for creating a situation in which de facto segregation exists, but unless they admit that it exists and do something about it, they will be guilty of fostering the situation. Just because the de facto segregated schools are not sustained by direct action of the Boston School Committee, this is no excuse for the Committee not to arrest and reverse de facto segregation in this system. Almost any part of the operation of a public school system is a form of direct action of the School Committee and of the City itself.

Mr. Murray was asked how the settlement houses had happened to get into guidance. He responded that "the children themselves came to us when they found they were flunking in school. . ."[79] School guidance counselors did not appear to be giving the individual assistance needed: [80]

> So he [a settlement worker] took it upon himself to try to offer school guidance, to get tutors, to try to get people to work very closely with these children, and a lot of them were able to graduate from high school with his support. And this started him on the whole program of trying to raise money for scholarships, and there are about 12 boys going to a number of colleges being financed in part or totally by the money he raised in the Roxbury area. A lot of people who have contributed are people who have come up through the ranks themselves, who were born and raised in Windsor Street and Warren Street and other places. It is a kind of an 'Operation Bootstraps'.

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78. Id. at 3.

79. Record, Mar. 20, 1964, p. 105.

80. Id. at 106.

Dr. Prentis Moore, a minister at the Eliot Congregational Church in Roxbury, reported on another volunteer program, the Roxbury Basic Reading Program for children in elementary school. This program began in January 1963 and has been in continuous operation ever since. The volunteer tutors are undergraduate and graduate students from nearby colleges.

The program, which has cost less than $5,000, has received financial support from the Reading Reform Foundation, the Eliot Church, the Roxbury Community Council, the Northern Students, and several individuals. It is carried out in three centers, the Harriet Tubman House, the Eliot Congregational Church, and the St. John Mission Hill Center.[81]

Two novel aspects of the Roxbury Basic Reading Program are the inclusion of a training program for the tutors in methods of teaching and of testing and retesting the children to measure progress. Miss Nancy C. Curtis, a graduate student with a major in Special Education at Harvard, directed the training and testing. One hundred and twenty children took the pretest in February 1963. The average child scored at the 37th percentile, definitely below the national median of 50. Fifty-four percent scored below the 50th percentile and only 32 percent above. By June the children who were retested showed marked improvement; 84 percent scored over the 50th percentile and only 17 percent below. The children who scored highest on the California Test of Mental Maturity showed the greatest gain in reading:

> The average gain for children with [an] IQ [of] 90 and below was 4.7 months; for IQ 91-109, 8 months and for IQ 110 up the gain was 10.4 months. It should be emphasized that many reading clinics will not accept children with IQ below 90. Yet these children in the Basic Reading Program gained 4.7 months in reading.[82]

Dr. Moore looks upon the program as a means of revitalizing interest in education in the Roxbury community where many residents, by reason of poor education themselves, are ill-prepared to demand improvements in the education of their children. The achievements of the small scale voluntary programs described to the Committee tend to bear out the experts' views as to the critical effect of the learning environment upon academic performance.

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81. Progress Report, Roxbury Basic Reading Program, statement of Dr. Prentis Moore at Open Meeting, Mar. 21, 1964, and booklet on program submitted.

82. Id. at p. 5.

7. Power and Duty of School Committee to Relieve Racial Imbalance in Schools

The particular responsibility of this Committee as an advisory group to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is to study and collect information concerning developments in Massachusetts which may constitute a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution. The Committee, therefore, sought guidance as to the present state of the law from Father William J. Kenealy, former dean of Boston College Law School, a member of the bar of the District of Columbia and Massachusetts, and a lecturer and writer in this area of constitutional law for many years.

Father Kenealy reminded the Committee that:[83]

> The Supreme Court in the 1954 School Segregation Cases and ever since has clearly and rigidly held that any segregation created by a State constitution, State statute, city ordinance, rules, and regulations of school boards, or any other official acts of government is unconstitutional, and has ordered the desegregation of such segregated schools.

Before considering de facto segregation, which he defined as a concentration of one ethnic group in the public schools not owing to any official action of government, Father Kenealy spoke of another kind of de jure segregation which would probably come under the Supreme Court's condemnation of segregation in the 1954 decision. The area of de jure segregation Father Kenealy referred to is a major concentration of Negroes in public schools resulting from the action of an arm of government other than the school board.

Father Kenealy continued:[84]

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83. Record, Mar. 21, p. 76.

84. Id. pp. 77-78.

> Suppose there was a zoning ordinance, the kind that was outlawed in Buchanan v. Warley, that created residential segregation by force of State law which, in turn, created the racial imbalance of the school. I think I would call that a state of de jure segregation.
>
> So, too, if you could prove, as a matter of fact, that the same segregation of housing occurred as a result of constant enforcement of the restrictive covenants . . . outlawed in Shelley v. Kraemer; but as long as that situation persisted, that would be de jure segregation.
>
> So, too . . . if any housing authority by its official policy created the same condition, it would seem to me that this would be de jure segregation.[85]

As to de facto segregation, Father Kenealy said:[86]

> To my mind there are two very important legal questions involved:
>
> One: Is there any constitutional requirement for the State or its school committee to take positive action to desegregate the schools which are simply de facto segregated?
>
> Second question: Is it constitutionally permissible for the school boards to take positive action to desegregate schools which are simply de facto segregated?

He stated two publicly voiced opinions of the Boston School Committee on the question:[87]

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85. In ch. 2, supra, it was suggested that the tenant assignment policies of the Boston Housing Authority raise the issue of de jure segregation in Boston.

86. Record, p. 80.

87. Ibid.

> One, we are a committee of education, not of integration. We will talk to the NAACP or other persons interested in any educational matter. We will not talk to them on a question of integration. The supposition that a major concentration of Negroes is de facto segregation is simply not an educational matter.
>
> I think in some other State a similar board said, 'We are a Board of Education, not a Board of Transportation.'
>
> Secondly, the opinion was expressed at least by one member of the School Committee at a public hearing at which I was present, that the 14th Amendment, the equal protection clause, forbids the State to take any official action based upon race.

Going back to his own questions, Father Kenealy stated that his study of decisions of lower State and Federal courts left him uncertain as to whether the Supreme Court will eventually decide that a school board must act--at least where de facto segregation is extreme. As to its power to act, Father Kenealy expressed no doubt:[88]

> I have the utmost confidence that when the second question reaches the Supreme Court of the United States, namely, is it permissible for school boards, in the exercise of their discretion, to obtain better education, to use a racial action, to take race into consideration, to desegregate the de facto segregation group, I personally have no doubt whatever that the Supreme Court will say, 'It is permissible, of course, for the same basic sociological reason that we decided in the school segregation cases in 1954.'

Father Kenealy discussed a New York State Court decision to support his view because New York State has a statute similar to a provision in the Massachusetts laws which declares that no child shall be excluded from a public school of any town on account of race, color, or religion.[89]

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88. Id. at 81.
89. Ann. Laws Mass. ch. 151C, sec. 2, (1956).

In the New York case, Balaban v. Rubin, white parents contended they had been excluded from the school their children would otherwise have attended because the school board, to achieve racial balance in a new school, had included the area in which they lived in the attendance zone for the new school. Although the trial court upheld the contention of the white parents, the decision was reversed by the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court on March 10, 1964, on the ground that the use of race as a factor to achieve racial balance in a new school district did not violate either the New York State education law or the Federal Constitution. On May 7, 1964 this decision was affirmed by the New York Court of Appeals.[90] On October 20, 1964, the United States Supreme Court refused to review the decision of the highest court in New York State.[91]

Emphasizing that the New York statute in question is substantially identical with Massachusetts' and for that reason should allay the School Committee's fears, Father Kenealy said:[92]

> I think the case indicates . . . that the evil caused by extreme racial balance is an educational evil, and, therefore, the School Board, in its responsibility and obligations to provide the best education for all the children, both Negro and white, can limit the educational evil, which it cannot do, obviously, without taking into consideration racial matters.

Father Kenealy thus concludes that a board of education has the legal power to correct racial imbalance although it may not have the legal duty to do so. When asked to comment upon the moral duty to correct racial imbalance, Father Kenealy said:[93]

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90. Balaban v. Rubin, 242 N.Y.S. 2d 973 (1963), rev. N.Y. Supt. Ct. App. Div., Mar. 10, 1964, aff'd. N.Y. Ct. of Appeals, Civ. No. 129, May 7, 1964.

91. 33 U.S.L. Week 3140, Oct. 20, 1964.

92. Record, Mar. 21, p. 86.

93. Id. at p. 87.

> . . . as far as the moral obligation is concerned, to my mind, the prime obligation of the School Committee is to spend their energies in devising reasonable means for constructing the best education they have for both Negroes and whites.
>
> I personally think that white children are hurt, too, by this segregation of Negroes.
>
> Negro children are hurt, humiliated, made less fit to grow up with integrated society.
>
> White children become hurt, too, by an absorption of arrogance, superiority.
>
> Schools teach by action as well as by precept; by example, as well as by word.
>
> And don't tell me that little small school children--Negroes or white--who recognize, say, all around them separation, make fine distinctions between de facto segregation and de jure segregation. The psychological harm is there, anyway.

While Father Kenealy would not assert that the Boston School Committee has a present legal duty to take action to correct racial imbalance, he is of the firm opinion that the committee has the legal power--and the moral duty--to do so.

8. Conclusions and Recommendations

CONCLUSIONS

1. The percentage of Negroes in the population of Boston rose from 5 percent in 1950 to 9 percent in 1960. This increase is due not only to a growth in the Negro population but to the continuing movement of white families to the suburbs.

2. Within the city of Boston, the Negro population is strongly concentrated in Roxbury, North Dorchester, and the South End. In these contiguous neighborhoods live half of all the Negroes in Massachusetts, and all but 1,500 of the more than 63,000 Negroes (1960) in Boston; in short, Boston's Negro population is residentially segregated within the city.

3. The concentration of Negroes within the city of Boston is as marked in public housing as in private housing. For example, at the end of 1963, 97.7 percent of the units in the Mission Hill project were occupied by whites, while in the Mission Hill Extension project directly across the street, 90.6 percent of the units were occupied by nonwhites. This pattern has persisted although discrimination in public housing has been unlawful since 1950.

4. Due to the residential patterns in both public housing and private housing, Negro children in the Boston Public School system are by and large concentrated in predominantly Negro schools.

5. School district lines have remained substantially unchanged since 1900 when Negroes constituted a very small part of the population of Boston.

6. The extreme racial segregation in Boston's public housing projects tends to produce predominantly Negro public schools and raises the possibility that some of the racial imbalance in the public schools is the product of governmental activity and therefore unlawful as de jure segregation.

7. To the extent that Negro children in Boston are concentrated in predominantly Negro schools as a result of private residential patterns and not as a result of official policies, the result may be described as "racial imbalance", "segregation in the schools", or "de facto segregation".

8. The experience of Negroes in the United States, from the destruction of their familial and cultural ties in the days of slavery to the demoralizing surroundings of the Negro ghetto and the predominantly Negro school, tends to transmit to each generation of Negro children a lack of self-esteem and a low level of aspiration, which are perpetuated and reinforced by the segregated environment of the public school and the practice of learning from one's peers instead of from one's teacher.

9. Negro children attending predominantly Negro schools constitute an increasing percentage of the public school population, partly due to the movement of some white families to the suburbs and partly due to the preference of other white families for private schools. Negro pupils as a percentage of the total pupils at different levels of public schools are allocated as follows:

School	Total Pupils	Negro Pupils	Percentages
High	20,244	2,798	13.0
Junior High	13,258	2,896	21.8
Elementary	58,117	15,354	26.4

10. The neighborhood school policy of the Boston School Committee has different application at different levels of the public schools. It does not apply to 7 of the 16 Boston high schools; it applies within large district lines to the junior high schools; and it applies within smaller district lines to the elementary schools, with the following results as to racial imbalance:

School	Total	90% or more White	90% or more Negro	Integrated	
				Number	Percent
High	16	7	0	9	56
Junior High	17	10	2	5	29
Elementary	153	94	17	42	27

11. In evaluating the neighborhood school policy we adopt Superintendent Ohrenberger's statement that primary purposes of education are developing in every child:

a. a mastery of basic knowledge and skills

b. the strengthening of his character to choose what is good, and

c. the inculcation of those disciplines and ideals fundamental to life in our democracy.

12. Many of the goals of education, particularly those relating to character formation and the acquisition of ideals, are shaped by the physical, social, and ethnic environment of the schoolroom as well as by formal instruction. The present neighborhood school policy clearly has an adverse effect upon the achievement of these goals.

13. The committee appointed by the State Board of Education and the Commissioner of Education has concluded that racial imbalance is harmful to Negro and white children, fails to prepare them for the future and results in a gap in the quality of educational facilities. With the aid of that committee's racial census our Committee has determined that the following disadvantages occur in predominantly Negro districts:

Nature of District	Pupil turnover as percent of enrollment 9/63-2/64	Special Class (Retarded) Children attending regular class - Percent
Predominantly white (90-100 percent white)	27.65	.75
Integrated (at least 10 percent white and 10 percent Negro)	43.87	1.64
Predominantly Negro (90-100 percent Negro)	59.03	4.31

Nature of District	Teacher Experience (Years)			
	0 - 5	6 - 10	11 - 20	21 or more
White	18.5	12.8	23.6	47.8
Integrated	20.4	17.6	23.9	37.3
Negro	25.0	24.1	20.3	30.8

14. The critical importance of the learning environment was demonstrated in the testimony of representatives of voluntary organizations in Boston and elsewhere which indicates that "educationally deprived" Negro children can make rapid progress when they are taught in a suitable environment.

15. An environment conducive to learning cannot be produced merely by competent teaching, by new buildings, or by racial balance; it requires an understanding of the Negro child, his history and his current environment on the part of everyone involved in the educational process.

16. The School Committee's Open Enrollment program, used by very few children during the past school year, appears to be serving only the children of highly motivated, extremely persistent parents.

17. The School Committee's Operation Counterpoise program seeks to meet the need for a mastery of basic knowledge and skills, but substantially ignores the environmental factors that affect character development and the inculcation of basic democratic ideals.

18. The school authorities appear to take account of racial balance in the selection of new school sites, although their policy is generally understood to be that expressed by a former chairman of the school committee who stated that "school district lines should never be drawn with regard to race, color or creed."

19. The policy of the Board of Education of the Commonwealth on racial imbalance was set forth in a statement on August 19, 1963, which said in part:

> The Board urges further that action consistent with sound educational practice be taken immediately to eliminate racial imbalance when or where it is ascertained to exist in any school system.

This has not been adopted as the policy of the Boston School Committee.

20. The evidence of the witnesses at the Open Meeting indicates that children attending racially imbalanced schools are aware of their segregated environment and, from that environment, draw conclusions about their place in American life which are likely to be unaffected by distinctions such as those between de jure and de facto segregation.

21. The three-fold purposes of education cited by Superintendent Ohrenberger can be meaningfully pursued only by carrying out a clear resolve on the part of the School Committee, its superintendents, principals, teachers and staff--and on the part of Boston's political and civic leaders and neighborhood residents--to achieve both racial integration and a high level of academic performance in Boston public schools.

RECOMMENDATIONS

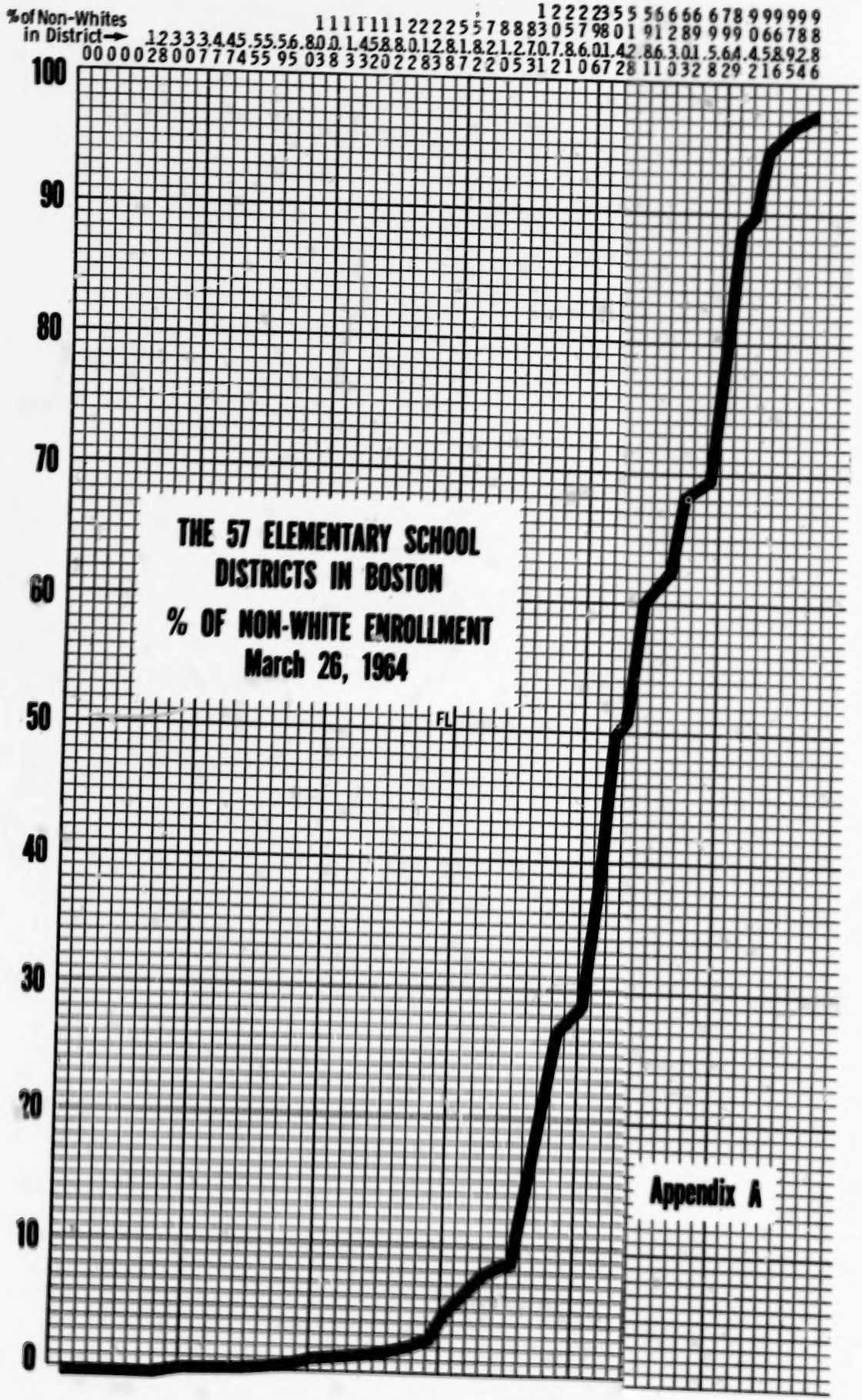
1. That the United States Commission on Civil Rights submit this report to the President and the Congress, the United States Commissioner of Education and the Attorney General of the United States.

2. That the Commission on Civil Rights invite the attention of the United States Commissioner of Education to the facts herein reported as evidence of a lack of equal educational opportunity by reason of race within the meaning of Sec. 402 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for the many Negro public school children of Boston confined to predominantly Negro schools.

3. That the Commission on Civil Rights advise appropriate officials of the Federal Government that racial discrimination in public housing contributes to segregation in Boston public schools.

4. That the Commission recommend to the President and the Congress that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 be amended so as to make available to school systems undertaking to correct racial imbalance in public schools the same Federal aids available to school systems seeking to abandon segregation previously required by law, including technical assistance in coping with special educational problems occasioned by the correction of racial imbalance, and institute training and Federal grants to enable teachers and guidance counselors to improve their understanding of minority group children and the relation of their heritage and environment to the learning process and the development of their latent individual abilities.

Appendices


% of Non-Whites in District →
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
THE 57 ELEMENTARY SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN BOSTON
% OF NON-WHITE ENROLLMENT
March 26, 1964
Appendix A

APPENDIX B - Interim Findings of the Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, July 1, 1964

This Advisory Committee concludes that sound education is affected adversely by racial imbalance in the following ways:

1. Racial imbalance damages the self-confidence and motivation of Negro children.

2. Racial imbalance reinforces the prejudices of children regardless of their color.

3. Racial imbalance does not prepare the child for integrated life in a multi-racial community, nation, and world.

4. Racial imbalance impairs the opportunities of many Negro children to prepare for the vocational requirements of our technological society.

5. Racial imbalance often results in a gap in the quality of educational facilities among schools.

6. Racial imbalance in the public school represents a serious conflict with the American creed of equal opportunity.

APPENDIX C

The Adverse Effects Upon Mental Health and Educational Process of "De Facto Segregation" of Negroes

By Charles A. Pinderhughes, M.D.

In the Annual Report of the Superintendent 1961-62, Dr. Frederick J. Gillis[94] states that Boston is classified as one of the 14 great cities in America and that:

> These 'great cities' have unique problems which differentiate them from all other communities. In these cities people are always on the move-either moving in or out of the core city. As his socioeconomic level is elevated, a person is prompted to move to a suburb. When this happens his place is taken by culturally deprived immigrants, handicapped with a second-class education, or worse still, by illiteracy. The rural backgrounds of these people, and their hard labor qualifications, make them unsuited for the skilled labor market which urban industrialization and automation demand. These people contribute to the pool of unemployables and go on welfare.
>
> In these slum areas (the sociologists, euphemistically, prefer to designate them as underprivileged, gray, or depressed areas) there is a high incidence of pupil dropout. In the school year of 1960 there were 344,000 children in the United States between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four who, for various reasons, left school. Of the 1,679,000 who were graduated in June of 1961 a very small percentage-actually only 7 percent-were nonwhite.

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94. Dr. Frederick J. Gillis, Superintendent of the Boston Public Schools, 1960-63.

The subcultural patterns of the people living in these depressed areas serve only to encourage a rot of moral fiber. The common birthright of their children is squalor, disease, and crime. These boys and girls are the potential nonreaders, juvenile delinquents, unwed teenage mothers, and the dropouts. They leave school and the street claims them. 'Social Dynamite', Conant calls them, and the terrifying implications germane to the continuance and yearly growth of this social problem are obvious to any thinking person.

If the pronouncement that we must educate the whole child was ever wanting in validity, it has full emphasis in the slum areas of the great cities. Here we need dedicated teachers in the strictest sense of the word, and here the requirement for Federal aid is already approaching the critical point, because it costs so much more per student to educate an underprivileged pupil then it does to educate a boy or girl from a middleclass home.

The slum per se stamps the individual who lives in it as a second-class citizen--an inadequate person with zero for his aspirational goal. The family group lives in too few rooms to permit any sort of privacy, and this lack is one of the most demoralizing forces in the lives of those who are subjected to this type of living. Money is always in short supply, the furniture is poor, beds are inadequate, food very often takes second place to the purchase of intoxicating liquors, and clothing and the way of wearing one's hair is apt to be bizarre. In this home books are not read; sometimes not even a newspaper is available. Self-expression and comprehension are below average, and inward stress and tensions of all kinds are present. The environmental pattern here predicates endless talk, fighting, child bearing, and moving from place to place to escape payment of rent.

> When the boy or girl comes to the public school from this kind of home, where the culture is several cuts below average, the school, more than ever, must adjust to the needs of this child. If anyone in the world needs love and kindness, sympathetic understanding, and personal guidance, it is the boy or girl who lives in this type of neighborhood. His teacher needs to be better than average and she must be able to communicate with this child, and to overlook many things which he may do--which in his culture may not be taboo. He requires much individual help in order that he may establish a reading ability commensurate with his chronological age. He needs 'field trips' to the museums, to the library, to places of business, to any and every place that will contribute to giving him a sense of belonging and to raising his aspirational goals. If the school fails this boy, he will become a dropout and, more often than not, a juvenile delinquent with a strong likelihood that his delinquency will be aggravated in adult life.

While some of the ills described can be cured or, at least, have their symptoms reduced by vigorous urban renewal and compensatory education programs, there remains a core of problems which relate to a fact omitted from Dr. Gillis'report. Many of the persons referred to are Negroes, living in a relatively sharply delineated area in high concentration. How this fact poses special problems requiring special solutions can better be understood by examining the general development and course of what has been called de facto segregation.

With the emergence of Civil Rights for Negroes as the most important current domestic issue, public school classrooms have become a focal point for discussion in communities where considerable racial imbalance exists. In areas which are heavily populated by a single ethnic group, the enrollment of some schools may be predominantly or completely of one group. To such a condition the term'de facto segregation' has been applied. There is a growing realization that an education, which provides contact with and understanding of but a single ethnic group is unrealistic and maladaptive in a world where many diverse groups share the same communities and are interdependent.

There is increasing acknowledgment of the hidden curriculum being taught in all schools in addition to reading, writing, arithmetic and other planned courses. Schools, in fact, teach much more, including how to get along with one's fellow man, and how to think about and evaluate oneself and others. Individuals within a school serve as models for imitation and identification and each student is pressed to conform to the kinds of attitudes, beliefs, mores, and behavior which surround him. The areas and styles of comforming, competing, rebelling, and cooperating are part of the hidden curriculum in each school. Such myths, legends, and observations as support this curriculum are also included.

A part of the hidden curriculum includes an education and training toward conformity not only to the mores within the school but to those mores existing in the community at large. Nowhere is this more clearly evident than in the guidance and counseling areas. Since one of the goals of education is to provide opportunity for the student to find a place for himself in the wider social family into which he goes, counseling is of critical importance. The counselor must realistically assist students toward the realization of their potentials on one hand and toward such opportunities as exist on the other. A Negro child and a white child of equivalent equipment and potential, when realistically counseled toward existing opportunities, have been counseled toward different occupations in which there were differing rewards. The school system thus functions as an intimate part of a larger social system and often assists in perpetuating its ills. We might ask whether counselors should have "unrealistically" encouraged Negro children to prepare for areas in which there is aptitude, whether or not there is opportunity. This might have constituted a disservice to individual students. On the other hand, the absence of "qualified" Negroes at present is in part relatable to our educational system which prepares the students for the outside world, including the values and mores which exist there.

The importance of intangibles such as the reputation and influence of a school, of its teachers, of its pupils, and the nature of its neighborhood have been recognized for somewhat longer. (Supreme Court decisions on the quality of education have been based upon such factors in 1950 and 1954.) Such factors provide a basic matrix which contributes to the tone and character of the educational program as well as to comparative ratings and to public opinions. Rumors, true or false, concerning inferiority of schools, of teachers, or of pupils have devastating effects and further demoralize teachers, pupils, and parents.

The spotlight upon schools has been directed less upon the formal curricula and more upon the informal educa tion, the class-room "atmosphere" and "climate", and upon the psy chology and cultural traits of students, all of which may sho w considerable variation from school to school even when curricu lum and teacher activity may be relatively standardized. As much attention should be directed to the educational process between pu pils as is currently given to the educational process between t eachers and pupils.

Peer-learning in school is never stressed ar d needs to be examined in areas of racial imbalance. While the re is always a relationship between peer-learning and teacher-to -pupil learning, the extent to which the relationship is complemer tary or supplementary or frankly antagonistic is of prime impor tance. Given the same teacher and curriculum, a larger group, emot ionally disturbed students, disrupting students, and lack of group cohesion cause a shift in educational process from teacher-to-pupi l learning toward peer-learning. Similar factors may promote a pee r learning situation which is frankly antagonistic to the te acher-to-pupil learning. Dr. Gillis clearly describes such situ ations.

What do the pupils learn from one another i n the unplanned informal curriculum? Certainly teachers are not teachers expect to drop out and to misuse their educational oppor tunities. Pupils learn such things from other pupils. Other stude nts serve as models to be imitated, as models with which to identify.

In a community composed predominantly of a s ingle ethnic group the education process between pupils in the neigh borhood school serves as a vehicle for conveying and perpetuatin g cultural characteristics. As such, a racially imbalanced sch ool can either enrich or impoverish a child, depending upon what t is imparted.

Of all the ethnic groups in Boston, only one group, the Negro, has presented a strong complaint that it receives an inferior education as a direct result of a heavy concentration of its own group in the neighborhood schools. How can it be explained that a harmful effect can result in one group which does not result in the others?

The differences between communities of American Negroes and communities of all other ethnic groups are extensive, but usually overlooked. The American Negro is the only minority group in the United States without a culture of its own. All other groups have a religion, an internal source of authority and group cohesion, a special language, traditions, institutions or other roots which are traceable to a lengthy group existence, usually in another country. American Negroes have none of these.

The numerous languages, family and group ties, and all prior cultural institutions of the millions of slaves brought to America were destroyed. An establishment for training was developed. Laws guaranteed the master absolute power over his slaves and permitted unlimited physical and psychological discipline to break and train slaves to unquestioning obedience. The machinery of the police and the courts were not available to slaves. Owners tried and executed sentences upon their slaves. Laws decreed that fathers of slaves were legally unknown. Marriage was denied any standing in law. Children could be sold without their mothers except in Louisiana which kept the mother-child relationship preserved until the child reached ten years of age. There was a general belief that education would make slaves dissatisfied and rebellious. Distribution of books, including the Bible, or teaching of slaves were prohibited by law in some States.

Thus, by means of one of the most coercive social systems on record, the character of American Negroes, and the nature of their relations with whites, were [illegible] Some persons, viewing the products of this system, have entered the erroneous impression that the characteristics were inherent in the people rather than induced.

For eight generations of slaves in a closed family-like system, every vital concern focused upon the master as an omnipotent father whose establishment molded the character and behavior of his slaves. The child rearing practices of the slave mothers constituted his most important training school, and produced obedient, docile slaves whose aggressions were directed primarily against themselves. In time, child rearing practices became stereotyped into life and death struggles to inhibit and reverse all assertiveness or aggression, especially in male children.

After emancipation from slavery, segregation practices kept the Negro captive in his compound and continued his training to his dependent and low caste servant role.

With the migration of large numbers to the North, no rigid, formal segregation supported by law was needed. The Negroes from the South were well trained to support and perpetuate the system. They had been taught a way of relating to the world in which white people were central, and they could not see that the Northern white person differed inside from the ones known in the past.

Even as large immigrating groups of English, West Indian Negroes, Irish, Jews, Puerto Ricans, French, Chinese, Italians, Africans, Indians, or Germans carry with them many central and residual elements of their prior cultures, so also large numbers of American Negroes migrating from the South to Boston have carried with them old patterns originated in the South. A person who feels inferior, criticized, or discriminated against commonly behaves in such a way as to induce from others criticism, discrimination, and treatment as an inferior person. Negroes forced into a low caste group in the South have, upon migrating, unconsciously induced in Boston relationships similar to those in the South. With "segregation de jure" stamped into and thoroughly interwoven in the culture and into the personalities of Southern Negroes, it was inevitable that it should be carried northward to precipitate out as "de facto segregation". They formed their compounds in the Northern cities, and in these de facto segregated communities they reproduced and passed on the only culture they had to pass on, with the only child rearing practices they knew, in the midst of the only family structure and group organization they had known. Even when [illegible] Other ones cannot be persuaded to change--they have been trained too long and too well.

Although the gate to the compound in the Northern city is open, few find it. Many have been so trained not to reach out, or to so defeat themselves that they must persistently fail at just those points where constructive changes are possible. Most of them do not believe the gate is open even when they are told and offered encouragement. Some who believe have so renounced any capacity for initiative or constructive assertion as to be immobilized and apathetic.

It is for these reasons, as well as for economic ones, that the open enrollment plan in its present form will not work for those who need it most. It is also unrealistic to leave the burden for change upon Negro parents when basically the American Negro family has been disrupted and made impotent as a source of initiative and purposeful action.

The essence of the problem we face is not race and not color. American people, by a coercive slavery system and by miscegenation, grossly altered American Negroes into a group whose characteristics were so shaped as to prevent participation in the American life as defined by the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. What used to be a slave group containing stock from several races has been perpetuated as a low caste servant and labor group, for the most

part isolated in its compound. The color primarily helps us to identify the low caste and to know whom we should not touch. When a Caucasian and a Negro can together produce a child who is considered to be a Negro in race, we are dealing with sociological rather than logical thinking. Such thinking is one of the many residuals of slave culture days. It ensures that the low caste elements remain clearly defined no matter how intermixed and unrecognizable they become. It also contains th implicit censure that whosoever touches one becomes one. To be born in the compound is to feel inferior, to behave as if one is inferior, and, in some instances, to be trained to be inferior.

Neither words nor pictures nor large amounts of intellectualized information will substantially modify the compound without the corrective emotional experiences of increased integration. Unless the compound is broken up it will go on reproducing its own kind, even as communities of other ethnic groups keep reproducing their own.

Education is central in all of this. Certainly slavery was [illegible] and the subjugation of a caste finds education at the very heart of the process.

Racially imbalanced schools in Negro neighborhoods function as a mold which produces and perpetuates an unfavorable stamp. Schools in communities heavily populated by other ethnic groups also serve as vehicles for transmitting group characteristics to individuals, but the stamp imparted in such schools is more adaptive and more often of positive value.

In this context, the Negro ghetto and its accompanying predominantly Negro schools can more easily be seen as agents which have adverse effects upon self-esteem, value systems, motivations, aspirations, and behavior of pupils. Such adverse effects prevailing in many students can seriously impair the educational processes in a school despite the presence of excellent teachers and adequate facilities.

In our generation and those before, segregation of and separation of Negroes were not only taught to us, but were even practiced and encouraged by our Federal government until 20 years ago.

That most white persons flee as if from a plague when Negroes move near them is a product of their life experience and education. Increased integration in education starting at early ages will do

much to prevent the emergence of another generation of hurt, frustrated, disillusioned, and angry colloreds and guilty, panic-stricken, perplexed, and angry whites. The adverse effects of the present system upon the mental health of Americans have too long been swept under the rug.

With the growing awareness of these circumstances, there has developed an intense search for practical remedies. Such creative innovations as develop under the stimulus of this problem will undoubtedly enrich our educational programs and will promote the welfare of all groups.

APPENDIX D - Resolution Adopted by the Board of Education of the City of Chicago on August 28, 1963, Establishing the Advisory Panel on Integration of the Public Schools

WHEREAS, Without design on the part of the Board of Education or the school administration, there are schools under the jurisdiction of the Board which are attended entirely or predominantly by Negroes; and

WHEREAS, there exists public controversy as to the racial composition of such schools, and the psychological, emotional and social influences that may be brought to bear on the pupils in such schools and any harmful effects thereof on educational processes; and

WHEREAS, some experts in the fields of education and the social sciences believe that certain educational, psychological, and emotional problems arise out of attendance of children at entirely or predominantly Negro schools; be it

RESOLVED, That this Board hereby reaffirms its policy to provide the best possible educational opportunity for all of the pupils in the school system so that every child may achieve his maximum development, and to recognize and work toward the maximum resolution of every problem or inequity that may exist in the system, including the elimination of any inequities that may prevail as a result of certain schools in the system being attended entirely or predominantly by Negroes, and to attempt to solve any educational, psychological, and emotional problems that might prevail in the public school system to the maximum extent of its financial, human, and other resources, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Board forthwith invite

Philip M. Hauser — Lester W. Nelson
Sterling M. McMurrin — James M. Nabrit, Jr.
William R. Odell

as a panel to analyze and study the school system in particular regard to schools attended entirely or predominantly by Negroes, define any problems that result therefrom, and formulate and report to this Board as soon as may be conveniently possible a plan by which any educational, psychological, and emotional problems or inequities in the school system that prevail may best be eliminated; be it further

RESOLVED, That on the submission of such report, which shall be no later than December 31, 1963, unless an extension is requested by the panel, this Board shall promptly take such action as it may determine is appropriate or required to work toward a resolution of any problems and any inequities found to exist.

APPENDIX E

Commonwealth of Massachusetts **Department of Education**

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE AND NON-WHITE PUPILS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF MASSACHUSETTS

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6. No record is to be kept of this information as it relates to an individual; totals only for individual schools are to be reported.

City, Town or Regional District BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

NAME OF SCHOOL	GRADES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	TOTAL
High Schools	7-12	17,446	2,798	20,244
Junior High Schools	7-9 *	10,362	2,896	13,258
Elementary Schools	K-8 *	42,763	15,354	58,117
Special Schools		132	49	181
Grand Totals		70,703	21,097	91,800

* Special Class

William D. O'Hearn Jr.
Signature of Superintendent

March 26, 1964
Date

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Commonwealth of Massachusetts — Department of Education

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City, Town or Regional District BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS SPECIAL SCHOOLS

NAME OF SCHOOL	GRADES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	TOTAL
Horace Mann School for the Deaf	Ungraded	82	12	94
M. Gertrude Godvin School	4-11	50	37	87

Signature of Superintendent

Date March 26 1954

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Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Department of Education

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City, Town or Regional District BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

NAME OF SCHOOL	GRADES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	TOTAL
Washington Allston District				
Andrew Jackson School	K-6	304	4	308
Wm. H. Taft School	K-6	333	11	344
Washington Allston School	K-6	227	3	230
Commonwealth Project	K	57	3	60
Wendell Phillips-Wm. Blackstone District				
Peter Faneuil School	K-8	110	6	116
William E. Endicott District				
Sarah Greenwood School	K-6	485	548	1,033
William E. Endicott School	K-4	50	336	386
William E. Russell District				
Roger Clap School	K-6	467	1	468
William E. Russell School	K, 7-8	587	81	668
William Lloyd Garrison District				
William Lloyd Garrison School	K-6	36	1,096	1,132
Williams School	K-2	4	138	142

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City, Town or Regional District BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

NAME OF SCHOOL	GRADES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	TOTAL
Rice-Franklin District				
Charles E. Mackey School	K-8	281	448	729
George Bancroft School	1-4	67	132	199
John J. Williams School	K-6	119	115	234
Robert Treat Paine District				
Robert Treat Paine School	K-6 *	381	115	496
Audubon School	K-5	235	46	281
Roger Wolcott District				
Charles Taylor School	K-6	374	3	377
William Bradford School	K-3	345	38	383
Pauline A. Shaw School	K-6	368	18	386
Roger Wolcott School	4-6	338	29	367
Theodore Lyman District				
Theodore Lyman School	K, 4-6	286	0	286
James Otis School	K-6	360	0	360
Dante Alighieri School	1-3	210	1	211
Thomas Gardner District				
David L. Barrett School	Special Class	32	34	66
James J. Storrow School	K-3	91	0	91
Thomas Gardner School	K-6	489	21	510
Warren District				
Warren-Prescott School	K-6	718	0	718
Oliver Holden School	K-2	145	0	145

William O'Connell
Signature of Superintendent

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City, Town or Regional District BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS — ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

NAME OF SCHOOL	GRADES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	TOTAL
Minot District				
Thomas J. Kenny School	K-6	263	0	263
Minot School	K-6	207	2	209
Ellen H. Richards School	K-6	305	1	306
Gilbert Stuart School	K-6	217	0	217
Norcross District				
Norcross School	2-6	366	7	373
George F. Hoar School	K-3	442	11	453
Patrick F. Lyndon District				
Patrick F. Lyndon School	K-6	439	4	443
Robert Gould Shaw School	K-6	218	1	219
Sophia W. Ripley School	K-6	406	0	406
Paul A. Dever District				
Paul A. Dever School	K-4	776	479	1,255
Phillips Brooks District				
Phillips Brooks School	K-6	11	625	636
Quincy Dickerman School	K-6	12	474	486
Prince District				
Prince School	K-8	237	126	363
Charles C. Perkins School	K-6 *	44	259	303
Martin Milmore School	K-6	134	37	171

* Special Class

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City, Town or Regional District BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

NAME OF SCHOOL	GRADES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	TOTAL
Longfellow District				
Longfellow School	K-6	670	7	677
Phineas Bates School	K-6	418	2	420
Mozart School	K-6	361	0	361
Theodore Parker School	K-3 *	89	1	90
Lowell District				
John F. Kennedy School	K-6	455	173	628
Wyman School	K-3 *	206	57	263
Martin District				
Maurice J. Tobin School	K-8	325	383	708
Farragut School	K-6	134	165	299
Ira Allen School	K-2	4	195	199
Mary Hemenway District				
Mary Hemenway School	K-6	342	0	342
Rochambeau School	K-6	359	2	361
Patrick O'Hearn School	K-6	411	7	418
Mather District				
Benjamin Cushing School	K-3	252	2	254
Mather School	1-6 *	785	8	793
Edward Southworth School	K-3	501	6	507
Michelangelo-Eliot-Hancock District				
Michelangelo School	5	21	0	21
Eliot School	K-6 *	323	0	323

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City, Town or Regional District BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

NAME OF SCHOOL	GRADES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	TOTAL
James J. Chittick District				
James J. Chittick School	K-6	624	1	625
Lowell Mason School	K-3	102	3	105
Jefferson District				
Jefferson School	K-6	383	130	513
Charles Bulfinch School	K-6	294	128	422
John A. Andrew District				
John A. Andrew School	4-6	305	2	307
John B. O'Reilly School	K-3	337	0	337
Michael J. Perkins School	K-4	414	1	415
John Marshall District				
John Marshall School	K-6	773	0	773
Champlain School	K-6	380	32	412
Lucy Stone School	K-6	366	16	382
Florence Nightingale School	K,2-6	183	102	285
John Winthrop District				
John Winthrop School	K-6	143	319	462
Benedict Fenwick School	K-6	299	188	487
Nathaniel Hawthorne School	K-6	166	133	299
Julia Ward Howe District				
Julia Ward Howe School	K-6	8	402	410
Sarah J. Baker School	K-6	31	686	717
~~Lewis Annex~~	~~2-4~~	~~0~~	~~59~~	~~59~~
Business Education Annex	4,5	4	42	46

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City, Town or Regional District BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

NAME OF SCHOOL	GRADES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	TOTAL
Henry Grew District				
Henry Grew School	K-6	415	0	415
William E. Channing School	K-6	385	2	387
Hemenway School	K-6	182	1	183
Henry L. Higginson District				
David A. Ellis School	K-6	10	631	641
David A. Ellis Annex	4-6	4	148	152
Henry L. Higginson School	K-6	6	314	320
Wm. L.P. Boardman School	K-4	3	194	197
Hugh O'Brien District				
Ralph Waldo Emerson School	K-6	265	110	375
Samuel W. Mason School	K-6	250	101	351
Hyde-Everett District				
Hyde School	K-2 4,7,8	3	324	327
Everett School	3-6	3	256	259
Asa Gray School	K-4	4	285	289
James A. Garfield District				
James A. Garfield School	K-6	281	5	286
Mary Lyon School	K-6	228	4	232
Oak Square School	K-3	116	0	116
Thomas A. Edison Annex	4-6	156	3	159
Winship School	K-6	257	4	261

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City, Town or Regional District BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS — ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

NAME OF SCHOOL	GRADES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	TOTAL
Emerson District				
Patrick J. Kennedy School	K-6	369	0	369
Philip H. Sheridan School	K-5	313	0	313
Emily A. Fifield District				
Emily A. Fifield School	K-6	545	5	550
Frank V. Thompson School	K-6	310	0	310
John G. Whittier School	K-6	292	18	310
Thomas F. Leen School	K-3	107	0	107
Francis Parkman District				
Francis Parkman School	K-8	538	11	549
Edwin P. Seaver School	K-6	253	2	255
Henry Abrahams School	K-3	179	5	184
Hart-Gaston-Perry District				
Thomas N. Hart School	4-6	233	97	330
Gaston School	4-6	188	89	277
Oliver Hazard Perry School	K-6	307	3	310
Benjamin Dean School	K-6	269	0	269
Joseph Tuckerman School	K-5	313	7	320
Harvard District				
Harvard School	K-6	273	0	273
Kent School	K-3	223	0	223
Bunker Hill School	K-6	236	0	236

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City, Town or Regional District BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

NAME OF SCHOOL	GRADES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	TOTAL
Dudley District				
Dudley School	1-6	51	299	350
William Bacon School	K-5	9	267	276
Dwight District				
Joseph J. Hurley School	K-6	108	500	608
Joshua Bates School	K-3	51	121	172
Edmund P. Tileston District				
Edmund P. Tileston School	K-6	336	5	341
Charles Logue School	Kk 1-6	349	3	352
Martha A. Baker School	1k2	141	4	145
Edward Everett District				
Edward Everett School	K-6	569	7	576
John L. Motley School	K-6	343	3	346
Elihu Greenwood District				
Elihu Greenwood School	K-6	608	1	609
Fairmount School	K-6	381	4	385
Franklin D. Roosevelt School	K-6	443	0	443
Amos Webster School	K-3	96	1	97
Weld School	K-2	68	0	68
Ellis Mendell District				
Ellis Mendell School	K-6	389	35	424
Margaret Fuller School	K-6	309	10	319
Theodore Roosevelt School	1-6	149	36	185

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City, Town or Regional District BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS — ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

NAME OF SCHOOL	GRADES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	TOTAL
Chapman District				
Chapman School	K-6	312	0	312
Hugh Roe O'Donnell School	K-4	342	0	342
Charles Sumner District				
Charles Sumner School	K-6	448	0	448
George N. Conley School	K-6	549	2	551
John D. Philbrick School	K-6	223	0	223
Washington Irving Annex	K-5	229	6	235
Christopher Gibson District				
Christopher Gibson School	K-6	252	478	730
Atherton School	K-3	68	203	271
Dearborn District				
Dearborn School	[illegible]	[illegible]	373	572
Dearborn Annex	[illegible]	79	172	251
Aaron Davis School	K-3	103	263	366
Albert Palmer School	K-2	52	161	213
Dillaway District				
Dillaway School	K-6*	38	300	338
Nathan Hale School	K-5	35	349	384
Abby W. May School	K-3	22	160	182
Donald McKay-Samuel Adams District				
Donald McKay School	K-8	417	2	419
Samuel Adams School	K-6	322	2	324

*Special Class

William J. O'Connell Jr.
Signature of Superintendent

March 26 1964
Date

To be returned on or before April 1, 1964

Commonwealth of Massachusetts — Department of Education

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE AND NON-WHITE PUPILS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF MASSACHUSETTS

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City, Town or Regional District BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

NAME OF SCHOOL	GRADES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	TOTAL
Abraham Lincoln-Quincy District				
Abraham Lincoln School	K-8	162	250	412
Quincy School	K-6	12	148	160
Agassiz District				
Agassiz School	K and 3-6 *	311	6	317
Old Agassiz School	K-3	215	0	215
Sowditch School	K-6	373	16	389
Mary E. Curley Annex	K-3	145	3	148
Joseph P. Manning School	K-6	171	0	171
Beethoven District				
Beethoven School	K-6	423	6	429
Randall G. Morris School	K-6	394	0	394
Joyce Kilmer School	K-6	458	0	458
Bennett District				
Alexander Hamilton School	K-6	315	5	320
Harriet Baldwin School	K-6	325	14	339
Bigelow District				
Bigelow School	K-6 *	553	9	562
Choate Burnham School	K-6	237	0	237
Blackinton-John Cheverus District				
John Cheverus School	K-8	282	0	282
Curtis Guild School	K-8	376	0	376
Manassah E. Bradley School	K-6	361	6	367

* Special Class

William H. O'Brien Jr.
Signature of Superintendent

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City, Town or Regional District BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS JR. HIGH SCHOOLS

NAME OF SCHOOL	GRADES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	Total
Clarence R. Edwards Jr. High	7-9	562	0	562
Grover Cleveland Jr. High	7-9	980	22	1,002
James P. Timilty Jr. High	7-9	93	620	713
Joseph H. Barnes Jr. High	7-9	610	0	610
Lewis Jr. High	7-9	3	583	586
Mary E. Curley Jr. High	7-9	850	229	1,079
Michelangelo Jr. High	7-9	194	0	194
Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. High	7-9	192	473	665
Patrick F. Gavin Jr. High	7-9	1,130	10	1,140
Patrick T. Campbell Jr. High	7-9	96	710	806
Robert Gould Shaw Jr. High	7-9	752	3	755
Solomon Lowenberg Jr. High	7-9	1,019	132	1,151
Thomas A. Edison Jr. High	7-9	485	13	498
Washington Irving Jr. High	7-9	971	9	980
William Barton Rogers Jr. High	7-9	956	5	961
William Howard Taft Jr. High	7-9	503	53	556
Woodrow Wilson Jr. High	7-9	1,016	36	1,052
Totals		10,362	2,896	13,258

William H. Ohrenberger
Signature of Superintendent
March 26 1964
Date

To be returned on or before April 1, 1964

Commonwealth of Massachusetts — Department of Education

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE AND NON-WHITE PUPILS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF MASSACHUSETTS

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City, Town or Regional District BOSTON Mass. High Schools

NAME OF SCHOOL	GRADES	WHITE	NON-WHITE	Total
Boston Latin School	7-12	1820	103	1923
Girls Latin School	7-12	1193	168	1361
Boston Technical High School	9-12	1540	161	1701
Boston Trade High School	9-12	731	207	938
Boston Trade High School Annex	9-12	120	15	135
Brighton High School	10-12	1063	133	1196
Charles Town High School	10-12	681	24	705
Dorchester High School	10-12	934	201	1135
East Boston High School	9-12	1122	0	1122
English High (Ira Louis Prata.)	10-12	1138	252	1390
English High(Tobin Bldg.)	10	180	113	293
English High Roosevelt Bldg.)	9	359	68	427
Girls High School	9-12	235	561	796
Hyde Park High School	10-12	1584	39	1623
Jamaica Plain High School	9-12	466	254	720
J. F. Burke High School	9-12	1085	431	1516
Roslindale High School	10-12	1465	12	1477
South Boston High School	9-12	1393	0	1393
Trade High for Girls	9-12	168	46	214
Totals		17446	2798	20244

William J. Kronenberger
Signature of Superintendent

March 16, 1964
Date

To be returned on or before April 1, 1964

APPENDIX F - Table 1 Boston Public Housing Projects

Name of Project	Number of Units Occupied	Number of Nonwhite Families	Percent of Nonwhite Families	Elementary Schools	Percent of Nonwhite Pupils
Federal					
McCormack	1,001	0	0.0	Michael J. Perkins	0.2
Old Colony	869	0	0.0	John A. Andrews	0.7
				John B. O'Reilly	0.0
East Boston	407	0	0.0	Curtis Guild	0.0
				Manassah F. Bradley	1.6
Mission Hill	1,015	3	0.3	Maurice J. Tobin	54.1
				Farragut	55.1
				Ira Allen	98.1
Charlestown	1,140	5	0.4	William H. Kent	0.0
				Warren-Prescott	0.0
Washington-Beech Street	270	3	1.1	Mozart	0.0
				Phineas Bates	0.5
Franklin Hill	374	19	5.1	Audubon	16.3
				Robert T. Paine	23.2
Heath Street	417	55	13.2	Wyman	21.8
				Jefferson	25.3
				John F. Kennedy	27.9
				Charles Bulfinch	30.3

	Columbia Point	1,469	294	20.0	Paul A. Dever	38.1
	Bromley Park	725	254	34.7	Wyman	21.8
					Jefferson	25.3
					John F. Kennedy	27.5
					Charles Bulfinch	30.3
	Orchard Park	757	348	52.6	Dearborn school and annex	66.2
					Aaron Davis	71.8
					Albert Palmer	75.7
	South End	505	277	54.9	John J. Williams	49.1
					Charles E. Mackey	61.4
					Joshua Bates	70.6
					Joseph J. Hurley	82.2
	Mission Hill Extension	581	526	90.5	Maurice J. Tobin	54.1
					Farragut	55.1
					Ira Allen	98.1
	Whittier Street	148	192	97.0	Maurice J. Tobin	54.1
					William Bacon	96.7
					Ira Allen	98.1
					Everett	98.8
					Hyde	99.1
	Lenox Street	304	303	99.7	Hyde	99.1
					Everett	98.8

Table 2 Boston Public Housing Projects

Name of Project	Number of Units Occupied	Number of Nonwhite Families	Percent of Nonwhite Families	Elementary Schools	Percent of Nonwhite Pupils
State					
Fairmount	199	0	0.0	Franklin D. Roosevelt	0.0
South Street	131	0	0.0	Old Agassiz	0.0
				Agassiz	1.9
Callahan Blvd.	242	1	0.4	Gilbert Stuart	0.0
				Charles Taylor	0.8
Orient Heights	349	2	0.6	Curtis Guild	0.0
				Manassah F. Bradley	1.6
Fanueil	250	3	1.2	Mary Lyon	1.7
				James A. Garfield	1.8
Archdale	284	4	1.4	Charles Sumner	0.0
				Edwin P. Seaver	0.7
				Francis Parkman	2.0
				Henry Abrahams	2.8
Broadway	952	14	2.0	Choate Burnham	0.0
				George F. Hore	2.4
Commonwealth	640	17	2.7	Andrew Jackson	1.3
				Alexander Hamilton	1.5
				William Howard Taft	3.2
Franklin Field	503	20	9.0	Robert Guild Shaw	0.6
				Agassiz	1.9
				William Bradford	9.9
				Robert T. Paine	23.2
Camden Street	72	71	98.6	Joseph J. Hurley	82.2

* U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1965 O - 752-506(128)